CUK-H00578-118-G51616

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

Established 1844

310.5
.003

THIRD SERIES

Volume LXII

118

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY
CENTRAL LIBRARY.

JANUARY—MARCH

1937

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

CRCU 210

First Series	*1844*
New Series	*1913*
Third Series (Monthly)	*1921*

GS 1516

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

Volume LXII ; Numbers 1—3

JANUARY—MARCH, 1937

CONTENTS

Page.

Our Seven Enemies 1
Sir Hari Singh Gour
The Rebels in Spain 16
Madame Ellen Hörup
The Sociology of Crimes and Punishment 23
Benoy Kumar Sarker
The Gestatt Theory in German Psychology 35
Dr. Suhrit Chandra Mittra
Art Teaching in Indian Schools 49
O. C. Ganguli
The Spiritual Life and its Realisation 65
Susil Kumar Maitra
Life of Captain Kalyan Kumar Mukherjee 82
J. M. Sen
War or Peace in the Far East 87
Dr. Taraknath Das
India's Connection with the League of Nations 100
Naresh Chandra Roy

Functions of a University 143
Syamaprasad Mukherjee
Thomas Bowdler 148
Amarnath Jha
Inter-University Relations and the Calcutta University ... 153
Kalidas Nag
The Minor Elizabethans and the Early Nineteenth Century Play-wrights 164
U. C. Nag
Killing for Faith 179
Suhaschandra Roy
Problem of Co-relation between Exchange rates and Exports ... 182
Benoy Kumar Sarkar
Help to village India 197
J. S. Aiman
Labour in Jute Mills 204
Tarapada Chakravarty

Page.
School of Printing—its possibilities in India 209
G. C. Sen
New Cants for Old 213
Sadhankumar Ghosh
The Poetry of Youth 217
Cyril Modak
Modern Movements in Agricultural science 230
Sir John Russell, F. R. S.

The Present System of Education 271
Rabindranath Tagore
Chancellor's Convocation Address 282
Our Educational Activities 285
Syamaprasad Mookerjee
The Remaking of Religion from Ramkrisna to Ramkrisna-Vivekanand 291
Benoy Kumar Sarkar
Space and Time... 299
Manick Kumar Banerjee
The Total Pacifists 305
Madame Ellen Hörup
Factors in the Fighteenth Century History of India ... 309
Kalikinkar Dutt
The Eugenic Background in India 321
Cedric Dover
The Future of Religion 331
Matilal Das
The Film in Adult Education 334
Shaikh Iftekhar Rasool
A Testing Programe for the Nation 338
A. N. Basu

At Home and Abroad 115, 239, 342
News and Views 119, 243, 346
Miscellany 123, 246, 349
Reviews and Notices of Books 131, 253, 359
Ourselves 136, 256, 362
Appendix: Rabindranath's Convocation Address (in Bengali) ... 1-17

List of Contributors and their articles

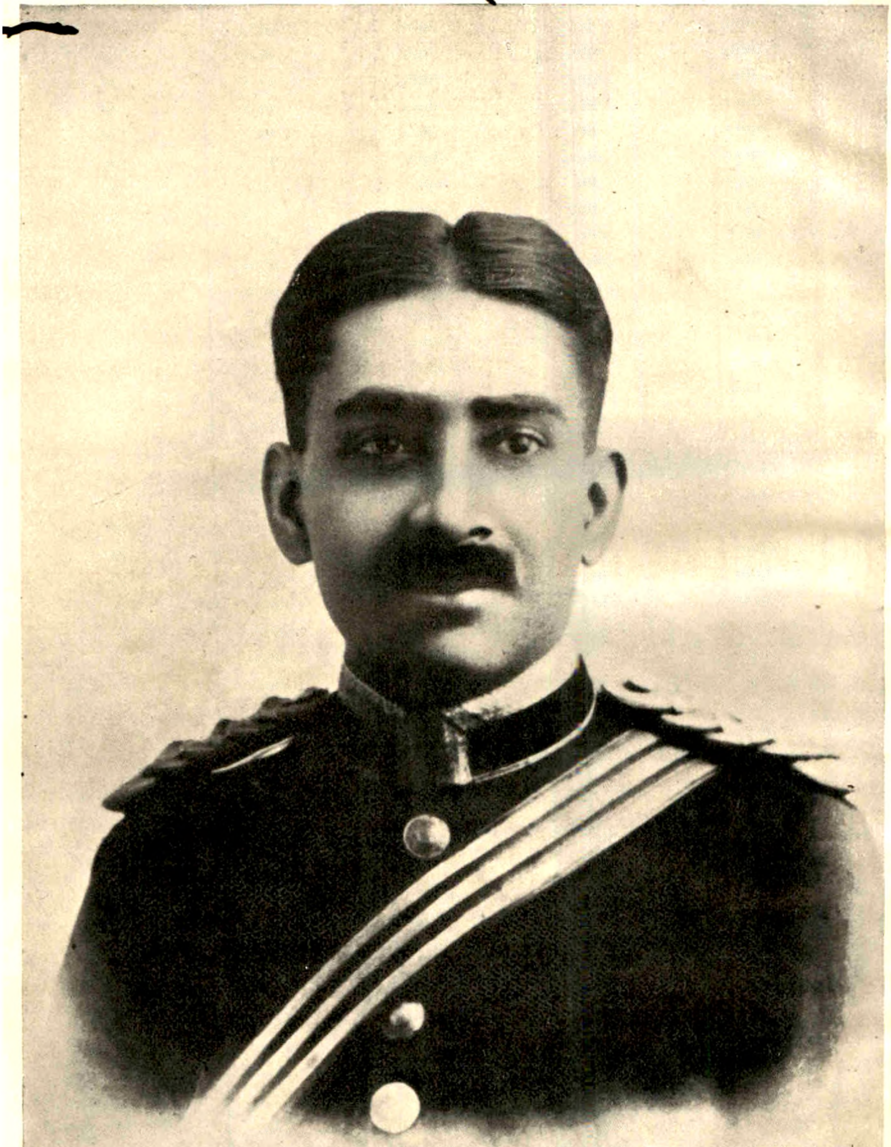
Page.

Aiman, J. S.
Help to village India 197
Basu, A. N.
A Testing Programme for the Nation 338
Banerjee, Manick Kumar
Space and Time 299
Chakravorti, Tarapada
Labour in Jute Mills 204
Das, Dr. Taraknath
War or Peace in the Far East 87
Das, Matilal
The Future of Religion 331
Dover, Cedric
The Eugenic Background in India 321
Dutt, Kali Kumar
Factors in the Eighteenth Century History of India ... 309
Ganguli, O. C.
Art Teaching in Indian Schools 49
Ghosh, Sadhan Kumar
New Cants for old 213
Gour, Sir Hari Singh
Our Seven Enemies 1
Hörup, Madame Ellen
The Rebels in Spain 16
The Total Pacifists 305
Jha, Amarnath
Tomas Bowdler 148
Maitra, Susil Kumar
The Spiritual Life and its Realisation 65
Maitra, Dr. Suhritchandra
The Gestatt Theory in German Psychology 35
Mookerjee, Syamaprosad
Functions of a University 143
Our Educational Activities 285
Modak, Cyril
The Poetry of Youth 217
Nag, Kalidas
Inter-University Relations and the Calcutta University ... 153
Nag, U. C.
The Minor Elizabethans and the Early Nineteenth Century Play-Wrights 164
Rasool, Shaikh Iftekhar
The Film in Adult Education 334
Roy, Naresh Chandra
India's Connection with the League of Nations 100

Page
Roy, Suhas Chandra
Killing for faith 179
Russell, Sir John, F.R.S.,
Modern Movements in Agricultural Science 230
Sarkar; Benoy Kumar
The Sociology of Crimes and Punishment 23
Problem of Co-relation between Exchange rates and Exports 182
The Remaking of religion from Ram Krishna to Ram Krishna Vivekananda 291
Sen, J. M.
Life of Captain Kalyan Kumar Mukherjee 82
Sen, G C.
School of Printing—its possiblities in India 209
Tagore, Rabindranath
The Present System of Education 271

List of Illustrations

The Late Capt. Kalyan Kumar Mukherjee 1
The Late Sir Bhupendranath Mitra 271



The Late Capt. KALYAN KUMAR MUKHERJEE, L.M.S. (Cal.), L.R.C.P. (Edin.), D.P.H. (Cantab.), M.C.

Indian Medical Service.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA • ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1937

OUR SEVEN ENEMIES

SIR HARI SING GOUR, KT. M.A., D.LITT, D.C.L., LL.D., BAR.-AT-LAW.
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University.

I

THE Indian is proud of his past ; in the past he lives and has his being ; and that past he wishes to realise in the present and project in the future. When I sit amongst my friends I am accounted a revolutionary, a social outcast, an ill bird who fouls his own nest, a shallow critic who loves every country except his own, a traitor to his own people and his own cause—in one word an incorrigible renegade. This is what the orthodox thinks—he is too courteous to say so, too ignorant to enter into an argument, too conceited to think of what the rest of the world thinks of him. He is firm as a rock, immobile as a brick wall, impervious to new light as a coffin and gloating in his fancied past as a clown.

Darwin tells us that in the struggle for existence, the tooth and claw of Nature destroys myriads of animalculæ, and that the stern law of the Survival of the Fittest justly destroys the weak and the ineffete who are unable to adapt themselves to their environments, or face the battle of life which is incessantly ruthless and implacable, in which no cruelty is too great and no sex or age is considered as worthy of respect. In that grim struggle for existence, India has long since ceased to count as a combatant force, since its past history is the history of her easy conquest by a handful of trans-frontier marauders, who have trampled under foot untold generations of her people, desecrated their temples, ravished their women, and pillaged their homes. These surging hordes have, for two thousand years, periodically descended upon India's fertile plains like a swarm of locusts and fed upon its verdant green, only to return as soon as her patient industry had raised another crop to feed upon. During all these years, old empires have risen and fallen, the very face of the earth has changed ; but the one thing, firm and immovable, that remained has been the determination of the Hindu to make no change in the social and to draw no moral from the long inglorious record of its age-long system slavery and servitude.

And this we recall with pride as our glorious past, as our precious heritage which we scorn to part with in exchange for the despised materialism of the West, their incessant struggle. their implacable and perennial jealousy, their perpetual intrigues, plots and counter-plots culminating in periodic wars which destroy all the old landmarks of civilization and culture. The Indian feels happy that, so far as he is concerned, he has no such struggle to face, no such war to wage and that, sheltered by his own spiritualism, he has continued to live a placid life and will continue to live it on while the nations that are now so active and vocal are dead and have passed into the legends of history. But the question is, what is life ? Are we alive as a nation or dead ; and, if alive, in what range of life does our activity manifest itself ? We lay to our souls the pleasing unction that we are spiritually superior to the costermonger West. But this claim merely shifts the point of inquiry one step further—in what moral field does our superiority manifest itself ? Are we more truthful, cleaner in our thoughts and bodies, purer in our deeds, and higher in our ethical plane, as compared with the West ? Those who swear by the past never pause to put themselves or answer these searching questions, for they know that it would tear up the mask of their make-believe, and shake them out of their pathetic hallucination. Their stock-in-trade is to vaunt their spiritual superiority to men of their own way of thinking, and treat their echo as a confirmation of their own assertion. Solon once said: It is easy to praise Athens to the

Athenians ; and it is no less easy to praise the invisible glory of India's past to the credulous but ignorant multitude who find some excuse for their own ineptitude and incompetence.

This device has been resorted to by the demagogues of all ages and it is a favourite device of the demagogue of this country. It raises a shout of joy for one to be told that he is spiritually a higher being than the sordid seekers after wealth and sensual pleasures of the West. Their path of temporary glory leads but to the grave, whereas the glorious day for us only begins when the grave closes upon our bodies. Now one is inclined to ask in all humility: What evidence is there to prove this assertion ; and, even if there were, why should one immolate his body to save his soul ? and why should not the body be treated as its exponent, and not its adversary ? And, even if self-immolation be a necessity, why then complain of our lot and raise a hue and cry for freedom ? Our forefathers had no freedom of any kind ; they believed in the divine right of kings—nay, in the divine manifestation in the king. Why, then, organise a political force to secure Swaraj, and pine for the dawn of a slow-coming freedom, which, as it comes, is beclouded by reservations and restrictions?

The fact is that the Indian mind still remains enveloped in its mediaeval shell. There is no logical synthesis of thought, no revaluation of old polity in the face of its signal failure, no searching of the heart, no appreciation of the secrets of the enemy's strength, and, above all, no general stock-taking of our gains and losses, and no spring-cleaning of the accumulated filth of by-gone years. An easy going *laissez faire* has allowed to guide our course. Our ship of state has been left to drift as it may, according to the wind and the waves, with no hand on the rudder and no thought of its fateful destiny.

Even now there is no clear-cut programme of work to attain a hazy, ill-conceived goal of political freedom. Otherwise it would be apparent to any one who pauses even a little to think out the causes of our national decline which, in their inception, have brought about our downfall, and which, in their continuance, prevent us from rising. And yet it requires no great strain on the mind to see, as plainly as in a looking glass, the spectre of our enemies that are responsible for our deplorable plight in all domains—political, moral, economic and social; and so long as we do not exorcise this evil spirit that haunts and surrounds us, we shall remain what we are—the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

II

Let us then, if only for our mental satisfaction, analyse the main causes of our degradation. Our linguistic affinity to the nations of Europe has now proved, beyond a shadow of doubt, our kinship to them. Recent researches fix our separation from them by no more than 4,000 years ; and, if we deduct thirteen hundred years of our subjection to other powers, and our striking defeat at the hands of Alexander (327 B.C.), there can be no doubt that it must have taken at least 1,500 years to bring about the physical and moral deterioration of which the first reminder was given in our first conflict with the Macedonian levies.

Postulating our common origin, what could have brought about such precipitate decline in our social system as to expose our frontier to such an easy attack by an adventurer so far removed from his base. The answer is clear and admits of no doubt, as any one who has lived in the plains of India in summer and winter will bear witness to.

The climate of India is our first enemy. All countries lying in the tropical zone suffer from the rigours of climate, but, if we cast a glance at the map of the globe, it will be seen that, of all countries, India has the largest territorial expanse away from the humidity of the sea that exposes it to the extremes of climate, with the result that the energy stored up in the winter months is more than sapped in the unbearable heat of the prolonged summer months. And yet India possesses quite a fair number of plateaus where life can be built up both healthy and strong, and it is. indeed, from such plateaus that the hardy mountaineers have descended upon the fertile plains of India, and scattered pillage and slaughter to gratify their fanatical zeal or fill their empty coffers. The early Aryan immigrants into India had been driven from their original home by famine and drought. They were emigrant farmers, and settled down in the first instance in the fertile valleys watered by the five rivers of the Punjab. But, unlike their brethren who migrated westwards, the Indian settler had to make his home in a country peopled with the dark-skinned aborigines with whom he despised to mingle his blood in marriage. The *Varna* which in later years developed into caste, and which, in turn, multiplied into several thousand sub-castes was thus only a desire for maintaining the purity of the Aryan white colour. But that desire, though natural, soon became crystallised into set rules and rituals to which the priests gave the sanctity of divine law. It seems that, when the Rig Veda was reduced to writing somewhere near about 1500 B.C., caste was still fluid and occupational, and, according to Professor Max Muller, both the Upanishads and the Code of Manu were composed by *Rajanyas*, that is the Kshatriyas, and not, as might be supposed, by the Brahmins. But, as the first division, which divided the Aryans from the aborigines on the one hand, and the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins on the other, became further crystallized, new divisions sprung up and a sharp conflict between the two superior races for supremacy in departments both spiritual and temporal engendered the first civil war which gave birth to the Buddhist religion, whose founder's large-seeing vision espied a national danger to the homogeneity and solidarity of the Aryan race.

He declared the equality of the human race and inveighed against the machinations of the priestcraft, who couched their dogmas in a dead language and interpreted them as they liked, who kept the people illiterate and ignorant so as to keep them credulous and superstitious. reducing them to the dumb driven cattle of the priestly hierarchy. He boldly counselled the composition of his teachings in the popular language, opened free schools and imparted the study of the exact sciences, which checked the fissiparous tendency of the previous teachers ; but, in his compassion for all sentient life, he counselled the stern doctrine of *Ahimsa*, such as Jesus did in a later age ; but *Ahimsa* is a counsel of perfection, only practicable when it is practised by all mankind.

It was a weakness in his teaching, which constitutes the third enemy of India. Later on he modified his doctrine, but, since he stood pledged to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, he could not reconcile that doctrine with animal slaughter or animal food. This doctrine was not his, though he had made it his own ; and it had dire results by popularising strict vegetarianism and abhorrence of the taking of life. The Mongolians found in this doctrine of self-effacement a powerful ally to their own conquering march ; and, finding the populace unarmed and helpless to defend themselves, they had no difficulty in overpowering them.

The Kshatriyas, it is true, had been told off to defend the country ; but, when the defence of a country is left to a class apart from the populace generally, as it was in Patrician Rome, the result could be no different in India to what it was in Rome. In both places it led to the fall of the empires. In India those who fought had, moreover, not only to meet their foes in front, but also to reckon with intrigue from behind; and it is a fact writ large upon the pages of Indian history that India lost her freedom not only because of the lack of organized prowess, but as much because of the treachery and intrigue of their fellow countrymen.

III

But India has not yet read this handwriting upon the wall. She still hugs to her bosom the vain hope that, if she is freed from the thraldom of a foreigner, she will retain her freedom. But facts, alas ! are otherwise. Unless India is able to cleanse up her social system which is the root cause of her innate weakness, one foreigner may go, another will take his place, as he has during all her past. As Rabindranath Tagore recently wrote: "We have divided and subdivided ourselves into mincemeat, not fit to live but only to be swallowed. Never up to now has our disjointed society been able to ward off any threatening evil. We are a suicidal race, we ourselves keep wide open for ages, with marvellous ingenuity, gaps that we are forbidden to cross under penalty and cracks that are considered to be too sacred to be repaired because of their antiquity." Further, it is too much to hope that England will relax her hold upon India, unless it ceases to be a paying proposition ; and, so long as it continues to supply raw material and take in return her manufactured goods, it is a vain hope to expect England to grant to India anything savouring of governmental freedom. And I should be sorry if she did, because, any gift of a free government would never be worth a moment's purchase. My countrymen have no idea of the true implications of democracy. They seem to think that the moment we get *swaraj* we shall obtain a battalion of men from the womb of heaven, who will descend upon us like Minerva armed to the teeth and ready to govern us honestly and with the single purpose of making the people happy and prosperous. If any of my countrymen entertain such a delusion, they are doomed to disappointment. A free country needs free people. We are not free so long as our minds remain fettered in the bonds of superstition. If we consign our fate into such hands, our real masters will not be our leaders but their *gurus*. We have, therefore, to start from now a campaign against the poisonous influence of institutional religion and all that it stands for. This was the trump card in the hands of the masters of the Renaissance and those of the French Revolution. So long as we bend our heads to the yoke of such religion, we shall never be intellectually free, and, without intellectual freedom, there can be no political freedom.

It is this freedom that the greatest of our forefathers had broadcasted to the world in the following circulation :

Kesa asked the Buddha: "Lord, Brahmins and sectarian teachers preach their respective doctrines, each one solemnly asserting that what he teaches is the only truth, and that all the rest are false. On this account, Lord, doubt has overtaken us and we do not know whom to believe."

The Buddha replied: "It is in the nature of things that doubt should arise. Do not believe anything on mere hearsay. Do not believe in traditions merely because they are old and have been handed down for many generations and in many places. Do not believe anything on account of rumours or because people talk a great deal about it. Do not believe because the written testimony of some ancient sage is shown to thee. Do not believe in what you have fancied, thinking that because it is extraordinary it must have been inspired by a god, or angel, or other wonderful being. Do not believe anything merely because presumption is in its favour, or because the custom of many years inclines you to take it as true. Do not believe anything merely on the authority of your teachers or priests. But whatsoever, after thorough investigation and reflection, is found to agree with reason and experience as conducive to the good and benefit of mankind and of the world at large, that only accept as true, and shape your life in accordance therewith."

The same test, sain the Buddha, must be applied to his own teaching: "Do not accept my doctrine from reverence, but first try it as gold is tried by fire." [1]

We often hear of what others should do,—very little of what we should do ourselves. If India wants Swaraj, which she has shown no sign of doing so far, her task is clear, and certain. Let her industrialize herself so that she no longer needs to buy British imports. England would then find India as of no commercial value to her, and she will then be ready to relax her hold on this country in the same way as some left England when it found it too costly a toy to play with. It is the onesure panacea for India's political ills ; but how little is India striving to do it. The industrialization of India is not possible without the captains of Indian industry coming forward in sufficiently large numbers to pilot her industry, and the workers trained to do their jobs as a patriotic duty. Have we got them ? Have they the enterprise, the large vision of those who have staked their all for the good of their country ? Politics is a fine game, if it is also a paying pastime ; but politicians will not save India, though the industrialists may, if they combine their resources to do what every other country has done, make India at least economically independent. But our politicians are anti-industrialists. They wish to produce Swaraj out of their patter and a silk hat, if the people will only believe that it is Swaraj ; and they are acclaimed as the salt of the earth, and not the sorry tricksters which they are, bamboozling the ignorant masses with large promises which they will never live to see realized—and India will never reach her destiny, if she trusts her fate to such tatterdemalion legerdemain.

---

[1] "Kalama Sutta."

IV

It is a curious though still a significant fact that, while we have produced a voluminous literature in philosophy and religion, we have yet to learn the rudiments of politics. We have numerous vernaculars, and above them all, the sacred tongue ; but not in one of them is there a single word to denote " Nationality " or national unity,—no word to signify what is a common word in our political discussions, *viz.*, patriotism. The fact is that all our historical traditions are theocratic and not democratic, individualistic and not national. Even the art of living together, which is what is meant by civilisation, has not been anywhere described in the sense which made every city in Greece a republic, and even a single city, Rome, the mistress of the world. We are yet as children in the field of politics that the Hellenic civilization had more than two thousand years ago broadcast to the Mediterranean people. Democracy and republican institutions were never a familiar sound in the East—not even in Japan till the Restoration in the early sixties of the last century ; and the free people of Athens, therefore, described all Asiatics as barbarians, because they had yet to learn the meaning of popular rule. Those earnest politicians of the later day, who speak of communism as if it were their birthright, may well pause to consider the wide gulf that separates their ancient and much lauded institutions from the free institutions to which the people of Europe became accustomed even from the dawn of their history.

Unfortunately for us, politics is not a science but an art, which can only be learnt by experience. In its early stages we must make mistakes ; and the people not inured to the obligations of freedom, nor alive to the sense of patriotism or public duty, will flounder as one who has never learnt swimming but is thrown into the sea after only a lip instruction as to how to keep afloat.

It is a confession that honesty and truth force us to make, but it does not involve the denial of the right of freedom merely forsooth because, in its beginnings, it would present a sorry spectacle of inefficiency and corruption through which all countries, first faced with collective responsibilities, had to pass. That is no ground for withholding freedom, but rather a ground for not delaying it.

At the same time those of us, who stand on the mountain tops, should not be slow to guide those in the valleys by reminding them of the pitfalls that they have to avoid, of the dangers they will encounter, and the courage they must display in pushing on with the weary march in unison and in a file in which all must work for all and no one should be left behind to lie down and die. This is only possible if those, who stand at the helm of public affairs, have the courage to proclaim the truth, which will make their following realise the immensity of the task that lies before them and the new equipment needed to tackle it.

We cannot fight the spectre of unemployment, poverty, and distress, with our rusty time-worn weapons of old slogans, old war cries, and old hallelujahs. The seed of nettle will not produce figs. It will only produce nettles. Those, who think otherwise, have yet to profit by the lessons of history.

V

It is a biological fact that the tropical sun produces dense forests and is prolific in the production of the lower forms of life, which it endows with a specially prepared venom absent from the flora and fauna growing in the higher latitudes. It may be an accident, but it is, nevertheless a fact that the people within those latitudes have a different standard of morals to what obtains in the colder regions. Mutual jealousy and mutual hatred seem to find a more congenial soil in the warmer regions equally of the East and the West, as witness life in Morocco and the other equatorial countries round the world. It would seem that the solar heat not only darkens the skin but distils a poison which reaches even to the soul. And not only the man, but even our gods, take special delight in quarrels and intrigue ; and how can we rise superior to our own gods, who ought to set a better example to us if we are to improve our morals. So long as they fail to do so, they too must go into our count of enemies.

The fact is that we have made our gods after our own image, a parody on life, a pattern of its imperfections. The whole of our religious beliefs and rituals, is the product of our defeatist mentality—a mentality which crushes all the noble impulses of our nature, all the ennobling struggle for self-expression and self-improvement. It is a mode of life that debases and does not exalt man ; and so long as we remain crushed by this heavy deadweight of combined fear and superstition, we shall never be able to make any headway in any field, intellectual, moral or physical. We shall continue to be as we are, a dwarf nation, surrounded by giants of science, valour, and progress. If we are to emerge from this sorry plight, we have to make no compromise with the forces of evil—no weak reconciliation between the past and the future, but turn away from the past as from a lethal chamber, pocket our pride, and follow the only straight course.

Next to our gods, if not alongside of them, must be placed our venerated philosophy. Its pernicious influence upon our lives has bred in us a repugnance for all action, a mocking contempt for all enterprise ; for, do not our Shastras teach that the world is a mere illusion (a Maya) and life therein an evil, and only a cog in the smooth wheel of eternity ? We, who are born, are all destined to die ; life is a bridge ; pass, but don't build upon it. This pessimistic view of our creation darkens our vision. It casts a gloom over our whole existence. Its influence upon our happiness will never be known unless we study our social institutions in a proper perspective. To the Greek, life was a blessing, and he enjoyed it, and made the most of it. To us, life is a penance, from which we pray for our early deliverance, so that our soul, freed from its entanglements, may rise and join the great Soul of Brahma. What it is to do there, we are not told. It would probably be treated as a sacrilege to ask such a question, though Dr Kurtkoti, the Shankaracharya, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, had permitted himself to warn the Sanatanists off " the stagnant pools of the Shastras."

The why and the wherefore of life has often puzzled speculative philosophy, though there is nothing in it to puzzle us ; but we should not be true to our inherited beliefs, nor loyal to our departed ancestors, if we did not believe what they did, and did not defend those beliefs by our newly sharpened tongues. In a life such as this, there is no room for the play of reason, no chance for the exercise of judgment. Generations come and go, but there is no change in their ideas, no progress in their thoughts ; for, our philosophy is our religion, and both were revealed to us by the supreme Spirit we call God ; and how can we question His authority or doubt His teaching. This apotheosis of the dogma, at once puerile and fictitious, is another one of our enemies. It binds us down so that we can make no advance.

It must not be supposed that this morbid view of life is confined only to our religion, since it was the common view of all religions including Christianity that exalt monasticism ; and in this respect, as in many other respects, Christianity, as I have shown elsewhere, is only a Jewish version of Hinduism [1] filtered through the medium of Buddhism, which held sway in the Punjab and Afghanistan, when Alexander, with his Jewish levies, invaded India. But there is this difference between Christianity and Hinduism that, while the former has long since discarded that belief so far as the people are concerned, we still cherish it as a living faith, bringing into sharp contrast once more, the dynamic thought of the West and the static outlook of our own country.

VI

Compared to these arch-fiends, our two remaining enemies are as mere dust in the balance. But they are still there, and we cannot ignore them. That our babel of tongues divides us from our brethren, and has so divided us for generations past, is now acknowledgedly a national grievance, which we are trying to redress by our intensive propaganda in favour of Hindi, by which we wish to displace English as the language of our conquerors. It is not for me to decry a propaganda that gives my mother tongue the pre-eminence which it does not deserve ; because, with all my natural prepossession in its favour, I do not see how we can displace English, which is not only the *lingua franca* of educated India, but is fast becoming the *lingua franca* of the civilised world. The replacement of English by Hindi is impossible ; and those, who are bending their energies to universalizing Hindi, must be prepared to make the educated India trilinguist, and not merely bilinguist as it is now. And sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

---

[1] " Spirit of Buddhism," Ch. XVIII, pp. 450-462.

VII

The last enemy of our progress is our growing hatred of the virile West. Our politically radical movement is linked on to a socially revivalist movement ; and the twain can never meet ; since the whole of our past is now an anachronism, obsolete, dead and damned. Our love of Khaddar is a protest against the machine age, a sorry competition at any time between muscles and the machinery which we have out of our own intellect evolved, and which, when harnessed, softens our life and lot and brings us in abundance cheap creature comforts to add to the pleasures of life. Our war upon the mills is a war upon our children ; since machinery is intended to ease their toil and give them rest and leisure for the improvement of their minds. There can be no competition between macninery and manual labour ; and yet our wise men ignore this only too obvious a fact.

We complain of the poverty of our country and the starvation of our growing population. So long as our sole resources is primitive husbandry, our present plight will not only remain, but worsen every day ; because, it is an economic fact that agriculture can never pay unless it is itself industrialized ; and, even then, the countries that have amassed wealth, are not countries that live by agriculture, but those that are industrially pre-eminent. As such, America and England have amassed great wealth ; and Japan, though late in the day, is fast making the leeway by pushing on with her industries. In order to cope with her teeming population what India needs is an intensive industrial policy—a set years' plan, such as Russia had to adopt to industrialize herself. The future of India lies in her industries which must be developed with the same fanatical zeal with which her sons face such trivial questions as music before mosques or cow-slaughter in public.

Our seven enemies are then these: Climate ; Caste ; *Ahimsa* ; our gods ; Philosophy ; the languages ; and last, but not the least, our *Vis inertia*: in one word all our enemies are own PAST.

Of all these enemies, our climate takes the first place, though it is possible to mitigate its evil effect by founding new cities upon the numerous plateaus that abound in the country. In the olden days, when the science of hydraulics was unknown, cities had to be founded near the water's edge ; but this difficulty is now overcome ; and there is no reason why our pioneer patriots should not found new cities where life would thrive and grow, and where even the Government might found an all-weather capital. Such cities would not, of course, affect any but a small population of the country ; but it would be a step in the right direction, and would contribute to strengthening and improving the breed, which would be better able to defend itself, than we, plainsmen, are ever likely to do.

The rest of our enemies need a short shrift. There should be no parleying with them. We can never tolerate a system that devours its own children. We can have no patience with a cult that exudes the poison of self-destruction. We cannot revive what will throw us back into anarchy and confusion. The Renaissance in Europe was heralded by a war upon all absolutism, whether absolutism of the Church or that of the State. The neo-renaissance, started after the Great War, has started with a war upon all institutional religions, of which our religion has to answer much for our degradation and defects. A thorough purge of our social system is the first thing that is now needed. Let there be no compromise with the forces of evil. We have got to extirpate them root and branch, if we are to have any future at all. We cannot face the future with the mouldering records of our past, any more than we can face an aerial bombardment with our barbed bow and arrows.

In this categorisation of India's enemies to her progress, I have mentioned seven; but have omitted out of my count one that may be regarded as her Public Enemy No. 1. He is the most insidious, the most powerful of her enemies, since he is her flattering friend. This great obstacle to her advance is not a man with a single-forked tongue. It is hydra-headed, as cursed as he is ignorant, as selfish as he professes to be self-effacing, as insinuating as he professes to be candid. He preaches from a thousand platforms, thumps a thousand hustings in the same way:—Why go forward, let's go back to the days of our forefathers. He denounces machinery as a contrivance of the Devil designed to consume man, railways, telegraphs, and all the amenities of life—that science has brought to our door and for which we, as a nation, have contributed nothing,—as only so many traps to make life happier which is against our religious creed. They remind us that our forefathers lived in thatched huts, went about in semi-nudity, lived upon the roots and leaves, and they were the mentors of their age, and an example to the whole world. A life of simplicity and peaceful contemplation upon things immortal, made them justly despise things mortal and material, which they ignored; even when the enemy thundered at their gates they feed. Such a life, our ancestors have lived; and they are all now living and watching us from their heavenly abode. Shall we, their degenerate offspring, take another path than the one which they had trodden; shall we, the elite of Brahma's creation, mimic the mode of life of those parvenus of this decadent age? What will our fathers say to us when we meet them again; what answer shall we give for our disloyalty to them and theirs?

This is the pith and marrow of the new cult of New India. And it is pulling us backwards into the cloudland of an imaginary past in the hope of guiding us to our future deliverance.

It is a pathetic sight to see our political captains fighting for our liberation with their sword in one hand and Shastras in the other. They do not see its incongruity; and yet they are men who profess to be students of human history. May God forgive them, for they know not what they do!

This must be a very dispiriting reading to my countrymen; but I have written so that my friends may not be dispirited but encouraged to set their house in order. "Know thyself," said Solon; and it was the motto painted by Plato over his Academy. An occasional stocktaking of ourselves is essential for our progress. Without such stocktaking, we shall never know how to act. That we have to clear our Augean stables of the centuries of debris and dirt, admits of no doubt, and ask any impartial observer, and he will say so. Some of our no-changers have collected, in their commonplace book, a string of quotations from the western scholars, which they quote in praise of our enemies. But our friends forget that these are mostly men who are regarded as cranks in their own country. They preach what they do not practise ; while some are, no doubt, attracted by the very novelty of our lives. But a tree must be judged not by its name but by its fruit ; and the fruit of our long life is gall and wormwood. We have so long followed an erroneous ideology ; listened to the whispers of false prophets ; we have followed them and failed ; let us now alter our course, and follow those who have become our masters by their superior strategy. Let us do what Japan has done, and with such-striking success. It is no longer a question of choice ; since it is a matter of necessity. There is no way but one to our cherished goal ; and we must follow it or we die. That way points to a complete overhaul of our social fabric, alongside of an industrial renaissance. Let the new spiritual force of Reason and Action be our watchword, and let there be no falling back by the wayside ; for, what we need is stout hearts and steady advance, unflinching courage, and unshakeable determination. Let us give the go-by to old fables, and old faith. It was thus that modern Europe was ushered in by the Renaissance; and it is only thus that we shall usher in a new India. Let us then unite our voices, not in praise of our thirty-three million gods, but in praise of one God ; and let Him inspire us to one common religion, both Hindus and Moslems alike, who should meet and pray in one temple and sing in one chorus—The Religion of India is India.

THE REBELS IN SPAIN

MADAME ELLEN HORUP.

Geneve.

IF one has read the series of articles about Spain which Lazaro Teran, the foreign editor of the big Republican paper '*Politica,*' has published in the '*Journal des Nations*'; if one has heard Alvarez del Vayo speak in the League of Nations and heard the reports of the Spanish women when they had just arrived from Madrid, then one visualises a great unfortunate country, an unenlightened, abused population, and a neglected countryside. Spain kept down in ignorance, poverty, and dependence by the three equally mighty and equally corrupt powers: the Church, the Feudal System, and the Army.

All three had the same object, all worked to make the gulf between those who have and those who have nothing deep and impassable so that those who have all lose nothing and those who have nothing get nothing.

There as everywhere else, the mighty Catholic Church, the proprietor of more wealth than every feudal overlord, serves the interests of the rich by teaching that the riches of the kingdom of heaven belong to the poor and that all other wisdom is superfluous. The overlords taught the peasants that the land in Spain was theirs and that the people only existed in order to cultivate it for the grandees of Spain.

"Do you know what wages a farm labourer gets?" asks a Spanish worker. "Sixty centimes for twelve hours' work. A landowner such as Medinacoeli may hold 99,000 acres in fief but he does not need to have more than half cultivated in order to be rolling in money. The rest he lets lie fallow as pasture-land."

The third power in Spain, the army, which ought to have been the country's protection, was in reality its enemy. It always opposed the people. "The army" exclaimed one of the women indignantly, "Spain has no army in the national sense like other up-to-date countries. Spain has a military caste which has no other object than gain and no other policy than to force the State to allow itself to be exploited. And the generals ! Do you know that in Spain we have just as many generals as Germany had during the war ? After we lost our colonies they installed themselves at Court and quarrelled over privileges and increases of salary. We had 20,000 officers for 100,000 men, one officer for every five soldiers. The army was badly equipped and organised and not in a position to defend the country. All the money went in salaries to the officers. Morocco was the only place where the army was up-to-date."

The people of Spain are now fighting against these three powers. This fact suffices to prove that the application of the political labels of a modern state to present events in Spain is mistaken and misleading. In the most primitive districts of Spain, Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia, there are no capitalist or middle classes, only overlords and peasants ; and it is there in particular that the revolt is raging. It is only in the north, in the industrial centres, in Bilbao and Catalonia, and towards the east where the large estates are cut up and where the ways of living are more European, that one can speak of a labour movement. And when one realises that during the monarchy, the Spanish State opposed every political reform even the formation of a modern Conservative Party, then in any case the Socialist Party in Spain cannot be very old.

Since the Hapsburgs ascended the Spanish throne the country has been continuously under foreign influence. At one time it was the Holy Alliance, at another the Pope in Rome. These reactionary powers hampered in Spain that progress in liberal and democratic directions which was made in other European countries. When the war came, the Court, the landowners, the Church, and the Army immediately ranged themselves on the side of the Central Powers. Practically the entire population was opposed to it. Official Spain became a staff receiving commands from the Central Powers. Spain helped the German submarines in the Mediterranean and part of the Atlantic and the capitalist class in Spain made huge sums out of war industries and contraband. They all hoped that victory of the Central powers would insure them peace and quiet to enjoy their riches and to keep their privileges and their caste system without having to to be inconvenienced by unrest among the populace.

The State would have nothing to do with reforms even if they were brought forward by the Conservatives, indeed not even if they came from on high as Antonio Maura, the Conservative, suggested. But unrest there was, both among Maura's 'Young Disciples' and among the Lefts. Neither social nor economic problems existed for the monarchy and the reactionaries, they simply could not see the problems of Spain from a national standpoint.

Thus in 1917 Spain was sharply divided into two absolutely opposed camps. A deep and obvious rupture arose between the rulers of the country and the country itself. The political-social movement had its most active centres, in Barcelona, Madrid, and Asturias, but it shook the whole country. It ushered in a new age and both the movement and the reaction against it increased in intensity and violence during the last twenty years.

After the first rising had been quelled came the war in Morocco with its sanguinary defeat when the generals leading the present revolt showed their incompetence and corruption. Then came Primo *de Rivera's coup d'etat,* a military imitation of Mussolini's march on Rome, which was nothing but a new phase of the anti-national policy which again made Spain dependent upon one of the Great Powers of Europe. Between 1917 and 1936 progress and reaction, risings and suppressions, succeeded each other. By the 14th of April 1931 the Spanish people had become strong enough to usher in the Republic but simultaneously with its proclamation the reactionaries began to prepare for military revolt which is now ruining Spain.

Right from the very beginning Mussolini took up a hostile attitude towards the Republic. He had his own good reasons. In 1926 a secret agreement was concluded between Rome and Madrid giving Mussolini the right to use the Spanish naval bases particularly the Baleâric Isles which could interfere with France's communication with her African colonies. King Alfonso XIII took this agreement with him into exile and it is this and the promises of the ex-King and General Franco to renew it which in particular have procured the help of Italy for the rebels.

As far as the other Fascist countries are concerned, the German staff have from the time of the Great War had a net of agents spread over the whole country in addition to the German Trade Associations which are now acting as centres of Nazi and military propaganda and espionage, all of them on the best of terms with the Spanish conservatives.

While the Spanish grandees thought of nothing but overthrowing the Republic, while the Spanish Generals only thought of how they could, by means of foreign aid, get back their power, the Spanish Republicans proved to be almost too chivalrous. They did not use the period of transition from one system to another only to rid the State of all parasites and obvious opposers of the democratic system, and as happened to the social-democratic government in Austria so to the Spanish Republic: their chivalry brought its own punishment.

The three most important tasks for the new Republican Government were a reform of the army, a land reform and a reform of the Church.

Senor Azana, the Premier, began by reducing the number of officers. He went so far in his considerateness that he allowed those officers who did not sympathise with new constitution or who wished to retire, to enter the Reserves on nine-tenths of their previous wages. Eight thousand availed themselves of this, the rest took the oath of allegiance to the constitution. Those who went over to the Reserve immediately formed the setting for the Fascist and popular clerical organisations of the extreme right. The others who had taken the oath joined the conspiracy.

Agriculture in Spain rested in most places upon a pre-capitalist basis of feudal exploitation and dependence. Now the State demanded part of the large estates. It demanded assurance that the soil would be cultivated and it fixed a minimum wage for farm labourers. But it was impossible to agree as to the price of the land. The State offered the owners the value which they themselves had given to the Inland Revenue authorities. If the owners demanded a higher price then naturally they must make good to the State the amount of which they had defrauded the revenue for years by undervaluation. But the big landowners refused both. In addition the State called for the institution of a 4% income tax.

Finally as to the reform of the Church, this was the same as has been instituted in the majority of European countries. The property of the Church was nationalised, and 80,000 monks and nuns lost the right to teach, but there was no question of any expulsion either of the Jesuits or of other congregations. No hindrance was put in the way of the Jesuits either in regard to religious services or religious educational activities. Only as a society was the order dissolved. But the worst stumbling block was the decision that the congregations must themselves pay their priests and defray expenses at the service.

These were the reforms which the so-called 'red' Government wished to carry out. It was against these reforms that the officers, the Church, and the overlords ceaselessly conspired. It was in order to prevent these reforms that the three ruling castes with the help of the Fascist Governments started civil war in their country.

The first move against the Republic was Alcala Zamora's resignation with Lerrouz's radicals from the Republican-Socialist Government. Articles 26 of the Constitution, dealing with those outside the Church was used as their pretext but it had been formulated by the Papal Nuncio in Madrid himself and so could scarcely have been more moderate.

After that a reactionary block of generals, bishops, overlords, and Lerroux's radicals was formed. As their leader they chose Juan March who was a millionaire, a banker, and smuggler. It was of him that the late Senor Carner, the Minister of Finance, said in the Chamber: Either March will beat the Republic, or the Republic will beat March." During the first two years of the Republic he confined himself to leading the conspiracy from abroad.

On August 10th, 1932 the Government discovered that a military coup financed by the landowners was in course of preparation in order to prevent the land reform. All the officers denied that it was a conspiracy against the Republic and as far as the majority were concerned proofs were lacking. On this occasion also the Republic was forbearing. The death sentence on the leader, Sanjurjo, was altered to lifelong imprisonment and they were content to dismiss the generals when they had given their word of honour never again to take part in military or political movement. Shortly after, when Sanjurjo's adjutant published a book in which no secret was made of the objects of the conspiracy, it was seen that chivalry and trust again had been carried too far.

March was still abroad and from there he financed his party and its paper during the election campaign in 1933. All forces were mobilised. Alcala Zamora, now President of the Republic, refused to give his confidence to the Premier, Azana. Strange alliances were entered into. Radical-clericals and extremists who even had common cause with the anarchists, joined together: and when the left split their votes at the election the conservatives won.

They did not suffer from too much chivalry.

An amnesty was immediately issued to Sanjurjo and all who had been condemned for military and reactionary revolts. They immediately replaced all Republican officers with their own people. They made no new laws. They confined themselves to destroying all the work of reform which the Republicans had carried out. The land reform was the only one the Conservatives had to sign. But the landowners were unyielding and the law regarding the minimum wage was repealed and distress grew. In Andalusia the population had not even bread for four months. People died of starvation. The Conservative Government was incapable in the face of the grandees of Spain as the Left had been. Even Gil Robles, the leader of the clericals, demanded that the Government should agree to a 4% income tax but they refused.

Atter the election March returned to Spain. He came, as Zazaro Teran writes, "in order to get the Government under his thumb and start his fleet of smugglers smuggling tobacco between Africa and Spain." And every possible manoeuvre daily was now set going to overthrow the Republic. Gil Robles and Lerroux caused a ministerial crisis whereby the anti-Republicans got into several of the ministerial offices, among them Salazar Alomso who became Minister of the Interior.

It was he who was designated as the instigator of the October rising in 1934. It was and it remained a blunder on the part of the Socialist Party and its leader, Largo Caballero, but it was provoked by the Government as Alonso himself admitted. Asturias, the only place where the rising had caught on, suffered terribly. There already the reactionaries had the Moors and the scum of humanity, the Foreign Legion, to help them and it was General Franco who led the massacres. Three thousand people were killed with the most atrocious cruelties. The Spanish press was gagged; the foreign press was silent.

General Franco had kept himself in the background during the first attempt at a *coup d'etat* after the inauguration of the Republic, but after the election of 1933 Gil Robles, Lerroux, and March joined him in the plot. It was then when General Franco had command of of the Balearic Isles that the so-called 'national' officers who were under Franco, supplied Ordance Survey maps of the islands, of the fortifications, information regarding the calibre of the guns, military strength and defence plans, to the agents of Italian Fascism. None of them were ignorant of the strategic importance of the islands for Spain in a future war.

It was no secret. Both the President of the Republic, Alcala Zamora, and Gil Robles, both the Minister of War and the Director of the Police, knew about it.

The clerical-radical Government sat for about two years. It succeeded in reviving the good old days when the State paid the priests, when the overlords were sole masters of the land and when the farm labourers had 60 centimes daily in wages. The only constructive thing they did was to reinstate the 8,000 officers and nominate still more.

The international plot was carefully planned. After Gil Robles had visited ex-King Alfonso in France and the latter had been in Rome, Austria and Germany, a meeting took place in Lisbon where the Archbishop presided and the Government of Portugal took up its place in the international fascist organisation against the Spanish Republic. It was Gil Robles and the clericals who had the power at that time in Madrid.

The meeting in Lisbon took place before the election. The revolt should really have broken out immediately after but Gil Robles hoped right up to the last day for a victory at the election. Not until it had proved a victory for the Left exceeding even the most optimistic hopes of Republicans and Socialists was a military *coup d'etat* decided upon.

Spain is the second victim of the Fascist weapons. Ethiopia was the first step in the Fascist's Mediterranean plans. Spain is the second. In Spain too it was an unequal fight. The country's army and weapons were in the hands of the Fascists. Five years ago they had already begun their preparations. Under the pretext of manoeuvres they built fortifications, dug trenches, established depots for ammunition which they are using to-day against the people of the country and the constitutionally elected government of the country.

Against them is an army of Spaniards of all classes, an army in overalls, with guns which many do not even know how to handle. An army consisting exclusively of volunteers, of soldiers without uniforms, without training, and often without ammunition, betrayed by the officers who were paid to defend them and who now with foreign aid are killing and maiming them.

The question of the neutrality which the other countries have adopted towards that army which is defending its country's lawful government will be dealt with in a succeeding article.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS

By Benoykumar Sarkar

The Beginnings of Modern Criminology (1764-1875)

THE classification of crimes and punishments is virtually as old as organized human society and the legal institutions. To the oldest documents of criminology (comprising as it does penology) belong the Pharaonic, Assyro-Babylonian, Vedic, Homeric and the Chinese *Chou-li* texts. Subsequent juristic traditions, *e.g.*, the Hindu *Dharma-Smriti-Artha-Niti* literature, the Buddhist *Vinaya Pitaka*, the Roman institutions and so forth,—are naturally rich in criminological data. Contemporary criminologists can therefore go back to the remotest antiquity for the origins of their science.

Attempts at penal reform in early-modern times have to be seen in such English works as Mynshal's *Certaine Characters and Essays of Prison and Prisoners* (London, 1618) and Bray's *Essay towards the Reformation of Newgate and other Prisons in and about London* (1702). The second work was a report based on the visit of prisons conducted under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. But it was not before 1773 that the British Parliament authorised magistrates to appoint chaplains in jails. This is the first official recognition of the need for prison reform in England.

In the meantime was published in 1764 *Dei Delitti e delle Pene* (Crimes and Punishments) by Beccaria (1735-94), the Italian philosopher and humanist, who has been described a century and a quarter later by the French criminologist, Gabriel Tarde, in *La Philosophie Penale* (1890) as a " child of our eighteenth century."

Beccaria's work is by all means the first philosophical and systematic work of modern times and he is the Rousseau, Adam Smith or Herder of criminology. In his analysis man is postulated to be a free agent and is said to commit crime after calculation of pleasure and pain. Punishment therefore ought to be graduated according to the crime committed. But it must not vary according to age, health, economic or other conditions.

Perhaps the most objective and fraught with practical consequences was the treatise of Howard (1726-86) entitled *The State of Prisons in England and Wales* (London, 1777). It contained also an account of some foreign prisons and hospitals. It is this work to which the prison reform propaganda of to-day has to look up as the first effective document. Howard is likewise to be remembered in connection with the doctrine that reformation and not punishment is the objective of criminal justice. The conception of the house of confinement or prison as "penitentiary" is also Howardian.

During the early nineteenth century reform movements were going on and by 1825 the first Juvenile Reformatory was established at New York. American prison methods were being talked of in Europe, and in 1835 commissions of inquiry were deputed to the U. S. from England, France, Prussia and Belgium. The Pennsylvania system (*i.e.* cellular treatment), which involves the complete isolation of prisoners, attracted the attention of the European experts and was adopted with modifications in their countries.

It was in the midst of this prison reform *milieu* in Eur-America that the first Prison Committee was instituted in India (1836-38). The atmosphere was thus adapted to the views of the German criminologist, Karl Roeder (1806-79), according to whom the object of punishment is reform and education.

Prison reform propaganda assumed world-wide proportions by the middle of the nineteenth century. The first International Prison Reform Congress was held in 1846 at Frankfurt in Germany and the fourth at London in 1872. India had her second Prison Committee in 1864. In the meantime the U. S. A. which had taken the lead in the establishment of Juvenile Reformatories in 1825 again adopted a pioneering measure in 1867 by introducing the "indeterminate sentence" (regarding prostitutes) in Michigan. The establishment of the State Reformatory at Elmira (New York) in 1875 constitutes an important landmark in the cumulative prison reform movement of the century since Beccaria and Howard.

THE EPOCH OF POSITIVE CRIMINOLOGY (1876-1900).

The challenge to this reform-cult and humanitarianism of "classical" criminology came from Italy in the researches of Lombroso as published in *L'Uomo Delinquente* (The Criminal Man, 1876-78) and his colleagues, Ferri (*La Sociologia Criminale,* 1881-84) and Garofalo (*La Criminologia,* 1885). The classical school was condemned by them as romantic, metaphysical and ultra-optimistic. They established what is called the "positive" school. According to Lombroso and his group the individual cannot be treated as a free agent. The crime is committed by man because of physical, physiological, racial and other innate causes over which he has no control. The fear of punishment can hardly have any effect on the criminal propensities of the human nature. The value of education to a criminal is nil and can but render him a "recidivist" (habitual offender). Lombroso in his attitudes to the Beccaria-Howard complex appears almost as a Malthus *vis-à-vis* Godwin in regard to the problems of the individual *vs.* political justice. The criminal is according to him an inevitable character, a morphologically predetermined type. He is "born," not made.[1]

Lombroso is essentially a criminologist. But some penal methods, especially those which are associated with the liberalism of contemporary criminal jurisprudence, may be traced to his rigidly evolutionary and biological criminology. For instance, the segregation of prisoners and "probation" as a form of punishment can be regarded as Lombrosian. The "reformatory" movement initiated by Brockway in 1875 has been acknowledged in his *Fifty Years of Prison Service* (New York, 1912) as in part inspired by Lombroso's ideas. The British Borstal system (1902-08), which followed in the wake of the American reformatory, is thus linked up with Lombroso in a certain measure.

It is by all means necessary to observe that Lombroso was not the exponent of a hundred per cent. biological interpretation of criminality. He did not ignore the psychological and sociological factors, although no doubt the biological factors commanded his attention in an almost obsessing manner. About the Lombrosians of the first stage we should likewise observe that investigators like Ferri tried to do justice to the sociological factors. To this extent he was a critic of Lombroso and succeeded somewhat in supplementing him with non-biological categories. As a champion of indeterminism his work served thus to combat the exactness and positivism of Lombroso. Like the Frenchman Tarde and the Dutch scholar Bonger, Ferri may indeed be regarded as a pioneer of sociological criminology.

---

[1] B. K Sarkar: *Political Philosophies since 1905* (Madras, 1928), F. von Rohden: "Lombroso's Bedeutung fuer die moderne Kriminalbiologie" in the *Archiv fuer Psychiatrie* (1930); H. Mannheim: "Lombroso and Modern Criminology" in the *Sociological Review* (London) January, 1936.

The "born criminal" of Lombroso did not have a smooth sailing in the world of science. Tremendous heat was generated in the discussions of the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology at Paris (1885) and at Brussels (1892). Among the Lombrosian enthusiasts of that generation we have the British sexologist, Ellis, author of *The Criminal* (1890) and the German investigtaor Bleuler, author of *Der geborene Verbrecher* (The Born Criminal, 1896). The greatest anti-Lombrosians of the day were the French philosopher and sociologist, Tarde, the German sociologist, Franz von List, author of *Strafrechtliche Aufsaetze and Vortraege* (Essays and Lectures on Criminal Law, 1889), and the German anthropologist Adolf Baer, author of *Der Verbrecher in anthropologischer Beziehung* (The Criminal from the anthropological standpoint, 1893).

But all the same, reform activities continued their career. Indeterminate sentence began to make headway in the U. S. For example, it was introduced at the State Reformatory at Elmira (New York) in 1877. In the convict prisons of England the "star" class was established in 1881. In India the third Prison Committee sat in 1877 and habitual offenders or recidivists were segregated as the worst criminals in 1886. The deliberations of the fourth Committee of Prisons in India took place in 1888-89. Indeterminate sentence continued to be discussed in all international congresses. By 1900 the number of Juvenile Reformatories in the U. S. grew up to 88.

In the French criminologist Tarde's *Criminalité Comparée* (1886) and *La Philosophie Penale* (1890) the positive school was combated to a considerable extent. But the free will postulate of the classicists was abandoned. Tarde contributed a new element to criminology by establishing the presence of criminality in all professions.

---

[1] E. D, Monachesi: "Trends in Criminological Research in Italy" (*American Sociological Review*, June, 1936), T. Sellin; "The Sources and Methods of Criminology" in *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, ed. by L. L. Bernard (New York 1934), pp. 430-432.

Havelock Ellis's *Criminal* (London, 1890) and Vargha's *Die Abschaffung der Strafknechtschaft* (The Abolition of Penal Servitude, 1896) continued the reformist tendencies in criminology in spite of the characteristic onslaughts of the Italian school. In Makarewicz's *L'Evolution de la Peine* (Evolution of Punishment, 1898), however, a reactionary note was struck. This French work declared the objective of punishment to be retribution and not education or reformation.

THE RISING TIDE OF LIBERALISM IN CRIMINOLOGY (1901-18)

The publication of the *Penal Codes of France, Germany, Belgium and Japan* (Washington D. C.) by Barrows as editor in 1901 furnished an important landmark in comparative criminal jurisprudence. And it served at the same time to divert the attention of criminologists to the problem of reform in the methods of punishment. Towards the same direction worked likewise the psychologico-pedagogic investigations of A. Binet and T. Simon entitled *Methodes nouvelles pour le diagnostic du niveau intellectuel des anormaux* (Novel methods for the diagnosis of the intellectual level of the abnormals), as published in *L'Année Psychologique* of Paris (1905). In this work was laid the foundation of intelligence tests so necessary in the analysis of personality and the assessment of human behaviour.

The spirit of the times was embodied in several noteworthy publications. The Dutch socialist Bonger's *Criminality and Economic Conditions* (1905, available in English as a Boston publication in 1916), the British sociologist Hobhouse's *Morals in Evolution*, the German criminologist Aschaffenburg's *Das Verbrechen und seine Bekaempfung* (1906), available in English as *Crime and its Repression* (Boston, 1913), as well as the American sociologist Parmelee's *Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in their Relations to Criminal Procedure* (1908) may be singled out in this connection. These works are still to be appreciated as exponents of liberal tendencies in criminological thought.

Two important Acts, passed in England about this time, point to the incorporation of liberal principles in positive law. The one is the Prevention of Crime Act (1908) which sanctioned the establishment of Borstal institutions for offenders between 16 and 21. The other is the Children's Act of the same year which can even be regarded as constituting the charter for children. Its clauses went beyond the cases covering delinquency and comprised factories, sanitation, guardianship, etc., in relation to juveniles.

"Indeterminate sentence" was accepted on principle at the Eighth International Penitentiary Congress which sat at Washington, D. C. in 1910. At this time some 21 States of the U. S. were used to this sort of punishment.

In India the passing of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1911 ensured a segregation such as was needed in the interest of social safety. At Camp Hill (Isle of Wight) the British experiment was started in 1912 in regard to the treatment of *recidivists* or habitual criminals.

Along with these two pieces of legislation deserves to be mentioned also the British Mental Deficiency Act (1913) which, on the one hand, served to afford relief to the feeble-minded and, on the other, enabled many persons to escape the legal taint of criminality.

Among the characteristic publications of the pre-war period have to be listed Parson's *Responsibility of Crime* (New York, 1909) and Saleilles's *Individualization of Punishment* (London, 1911). Two historical works, *The Modern Theories of Criminality* by De Quiros (English translation, Boston, 1912, Spanish original, 1898-1908) and *The Rationale of Punishment* by Oppenheimer (London, 1913) furnished the latest views about the liberal tendencies. We have to mention also Goring's *English Convict* (London, 1913) which after von List (1889) and Baer (1893) sought to furnish the most comprehensive refutation of the Lombrosian "born criminal."

The eve of the Great War witnessed the publication of several substantial works along the same lines. Tredgold's *Mental Deficiency* (New York, 1914), Mercier's *Crime and Insanity* (London, 1914) as well as Bolton's *Brain in Health and Disease* (London, 1914) dealt with problems which remain yet to be satisfactorily understood by the jurist and the statesman. But Lewis's *Probation System* (London, 1914) discussed topics and presented ideals such as the legal world was somewhat in a position to assimilate.

During the war was published in India Tucker's *Criminocurology* (Simla, 1916). It dealt with the activities of the Salvation Army in the line of reformation. A comprehensive theoretical work in this field was given by Wines in his *Punishment and Reformation* (New York, 1918).

RECENT CRIMINOLOGY.

(1919-36)

Reconstruction was the order of the day at the end of the Great War and in every field. The subject of crimes and punishments also came in for a thorough discussion. An important event in the world of criminological science is to be found in the establishment in 1919 of the Indian Jails Committee which reported in 1921. The discussion and recommendations of this committee did not fail to introduce the Government as well as the public in India to the liberal ideas and practices prevalent in the other parts of the world since at any rate the beginnings of the twentieth century. Without reference to how much of the liberal recommendations have been implemented it is but proper to observe that the Indian mind, both official and non-official, was profoundly uptodatized in the categories of criminology and penology on account of the labours of the Indian Jails Committee. An impact of this is perhaps to be seen in the enactment of the Children's Acts in Madras (1920) and in Bengal (1922) on the model of the corresponding British Act (1908). The establishment in 1926 of the Borstal Institution at Bankura (Bengal) for adolescent criminals between 16 and 21 as well as of the Reformatory School in the Juvenile Jail at Alipore (Calcutta) is likewise to be treated as a consequence of the Committee's work. In due succession has followed the Bengal After-care Association for Juveniles and Adolescents (1928).

Among systematic publications of a comprehensive character such as belong to the liberal school have to be mentioned Parmelee's *Criminology* (New York, 1920) and Sutherland's *Criminology* (Philadelphia, 1924). Liberal but dealing with special topics are Ruggles-Brise's *Prison Reform at Home and Abroad* (London, 1924) and Burt's *Young Delinquent* (London, 1925). Modernism is embodied likewise in Begbie's *Punishment and Personality* (London, 1927). The trend in German liberalism is to be seen in Schaefer's *Deutsche Strafgesetzentwuerfe von 1909 bis 1927* (German Criminal, Law, 1909-27) published at Leipzig in 1927.

A big dose of liberalization was administered in Europe by the law of Belgium passed in 1920. By this legislation the treatment of prisoners was provided for in a specialized and individualized manner.

In Prussia the corresponding law was passed in 1929 and in Italy in 1931.

Criminological works in India or about India have begun to make their appearance. Crimes and punishments were among the topics incidentally investigated in the present author's *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), and modern criminological theories in their bearings on politics and sociology in his *Political Theories since 1905* (Madras, 1928). Criminological data are to be found in some of the general indological researches of the period, based as they are on Sanskrit, Pali and Persian sources. In 1924 was published an objective account of contemporary conditions entitled *Crime in India* by S. M. Edwardes (Calcutta). R. Dasgupta's *Crime and Punishment in Ancient India* (1930) has served to throw light on Hindu criminology, and may be regarded as a specialized continuation of previous studies in Hindu polity and law by indologists. In P. K. Sen's *From Punishment to Prevention* (London, 1932) the ideological evolution has been exhibited in the East and the West. Works like the *Arthasastra* of Kautalya and the *Sukraniti* have thereby been placed in the historical perspective. Criminology is one of the subjects of investigation by the Research Fellows of the "*Antarjatik Banga*" *Parishat* ("International Bengal" Institute). Pankajkumar Mukherjee's extensive paper in Bengali, entitled "*Kayedkhanar Samajtattva*" (The Sociology of Prisons), was published in *Arthik Unnati* (Economic Progress) for March and April, 1933, "Criminology" in *Hitabadi* (1934), "Punishment" in *Panchajanya* (Chittagong, 1934), "Crimes in Japan" in *Basumati* (1934) and "Prison Labour in International Legislation" in the *Calcutta Review* for 1935. Haikerwal's *Economic and Social Aspects of Crime in India* (1935) and Tarapore's *Prison Reform in India* (1936) have also to be listed among the recent investigations by Indian scholars.

A special number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* was given over in 1931 to the latest developments in prison legislation. The number was called "Prisons of To-morrow" and edited by Sutherland and Sellin.

The "positive school" has been having a very successful career in Germany. Adolf Lenz of Graz (Austria) and Theodor Viernstein of Munich have established what is called the *Kriminalbiologische Gesellschaft* (Criminal-Biological Society) in 1927. The question of the "born criminal" has been revived on more extensive foundations than the Lombrosian. With Lombroso the chief item was the morphology. The criminal-biological school has shifted its attention to the psycho-pathological patterns and temperaments. In works like Kronfeld's *Lehrbuch der Charakterkunde* (1932) characterology has made its appearance. Birnbaum's studies in the psychopathology of criminals (1929, 1931) have acquired a prominence in scientific circles. The publication of Kretschmer's *Koerperbau und Charackter* (1921) has initiated investigations into the correlation between the body-build and temperament. In the investigations like those of Jaensch in *Die Hautkapillar-Mikroskopie* (1929) the scientific world is getting to believe that skin capillaries can reveal degeneration and abnormalities. F. von Rohden's *Einfuehrung in die Kriminalbiologische Methodenlehre* (Berlin, 1933) describes the diverse techniques that are being employed in order to analyze and understand the human personality. The great objective of the "criminal-biological" school is to discover which types of men and women are improvable or reformable. The problem has arisen in Germany because in 1921 the "progressive grade system" was introduced by Bavaria in the treatment of prisoners.[1]

The biological bias of Nazi criminology is declared by Mezger in his *Kriminalpolitik auf kriminologischer Grundlage* (Crime-policy on Criminological Foundation, Stuttgart, 1934) as follows: "*Eine extreme Milieutheorie ist in ihrem kriminal-politischen Konsequenzen fuer den totalen Staat unannehmbar*" (An extreme environmental or sociological theory is in its crime-policy unacceptable to the total state). In keeping with this idea is the individualistic responsibility maintained by Sauer when he writes in his paper on "Anlage und Umwelt als Verbrechensursachen" (Heredity and Environment as Causes of Crime) that it is the individual himself that is the cause of crime. It is in the striving of the individual's will that the cause is to be sought (*Zeitschrist der Akademie fuer Deutsches Recht*, Berlin, August, 1935).

At the International Congress of Population (Berlin, 1935) Ristow[2] in his paper entitled *Bevoelkerungspolitik und Kriminalbiologie* (Population Policy and Criminal Biology) justifies the Nazi race-law (1933-34) to the effect that diseased heredity is to be prevented in the rising generation (*Gesetz zur Verhuetung erbkranken Nachwuchses*) because this serves to reduce criminality. The close relation between diseased heredity and criminality is accepted by him on the foundation of Ruedin's researches as published in the *Mitteilungen der Kriminalbiologischen Gesellschaft* (1931). The *Ausbrennen* (cauterization) of diseased parts out of the hereditary flow of a race is declared by him to be an act of justice. Eugenic measures and sterilization (which of course is eugenic) naturally belong to this system of race-law.

---

[1] N. Cantor: "Recent Tendencies in Criminological Research in Germany" in the *American Sociological Review*, June, 1936.

[2] *Bevoelkerungsfragen*, ed. by Harmsen and Lohse (Munich, 1936), pp. 649-650. See also Ruttke's paper on "Das deutsche Gesetz zur Verhuetung erbkranken Nachwuchses," *ibid*, pp. 676-685.

Because of the importance attached to the non-biological or extra-biological factors in the aetiology of crime the crimino-biological school of Germany can be described as neo-Lombrosian or neo-positive. Contemporary criminological researches in Itaty ought to be treated perhaps as more Lombrosian than neo-Lombrosian, because, with them, although psychological and sociological elements are referred to, the biological obsession is much too evident.

Pende's *Trattato Sintetico di Patologia e Clinica Medica* (Synthetic Treatise of Pathology and Medical Clinic, Messina, 1927) gives the present-day version of the Lombrosian "born criminal." This type has certain morphological, physiological, and psychological characteristics and these are determined by heredity as well as by the environment acting on the heredity. There arises thus the "constitutional criminal." This kind of individuals is often called the "real" criminal as distinguished from the "occasional" criminal. The leading criminologists of contemporary Italy are interested in this constitutional criminal and their chief exponent, Ottolenghi~~, is~~ out and out Lombrosian. In his *Trattato di Polizia Scientifica* (Treatise of Scientific Police, Rome, 1932) the "real criminal" is defined to be an individual distinct and separate from the rest of humanity. This type of offenders is considered to be the creation of negative biological and social selection.

To the same school belongs Di Tullio in whose *Manuale di Antropologia e Psicologia Criminale* (Rome, 1931) every "real" or "constitutional" delinquent is described as being burdened with defective or degenerate heredity. The morpho-physico-psychological abnormalities or anomalies derived from diseased heredity form the basis of the delinquent constitution, and it is this constitution that predisposes the individual towards criminality. According to Di Tullio factors leading to defective heredity may be curbed or eliminated by eugenic marriages and by mental hygiene programmes. It is the function of criminology, first, to correct the constitutional anomalies, and, secondly, to offer the individual an appropriate environment. The Italian Lombrosians (or neo-Lombrosians ?) of to-day are therefore not as pessimistic as Lombroso. Indeed the Fascist Penal Code of 1931 owes many liberal features to the " constitutional criminologists.")

The Fascist Penal Code of 1931 has among other things introduced a sharp distinction between " occasional " criminals and three special types of criminals, namely, the habitual, the professional, and those " by tendency." The last are the " born criminals " of Lombroso or the " constitutional " criminals of Pende-Ottolenghi-Di Tullio. These three types are recognized in the Code as the most dangerous to society. After serving their usual sentences they are therefore subjected to *misure di sicurezza* (measures of security) and surveillance. If necessary, they may be placed in detentive institutions.

In this connection it is worth while to observe that the American publication, *The Individual Criminal* (Washington, 1935) by Karpman, emphasizes psychic factors in criminality. "Whatever significance one may attach to social or mass causes," says he, " there can hardly be any doubt that the picture will never be complete without a particular study of the individual criminal as a determined factor in the situation." On the other hand, the *milieu* or the social environment has been stressed in the latest American work, *Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency* by Sullenger (New-York, 1936).

From Laughlin's paper on " Eugenical sterilization in the U. S." presented to the International Congress of Population, Berlin (1935), it is clear that in the United States the biological impacts on legislation are already very extensive. The statute of 1907 passed in Indiana initiated the movement for the prevention of reproduction by definite strains of degenerate human stocks. Down to December, 1934, sterilization operations were performed to the extent of 21,539. Among the patients for legal sterilization are mentioned the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, the idiots, habitual criminals, sexual perverts, moral degenerates and so forth. Sterilization statutes have been passed in thirty-one out of the forty-eight states. These laws recognize heredity as a major factor in certain types of hereditary degeneracy. The quality of the future population is sought to be protected by removing certain individuals from the stock of parenthood of the next generation. It will be apparent that the Nazi law was anticipated by the Americans by a quarter of a century.[1] Sterilization, as practised according to American law, has "no reference whatever to race, religion or punishment." It is "purely a biological or eugenical institution." But all the same, in regard to crime prevention eugenical sterilization may be considered a long-time factor in so far as inborn degeneracy is demonstrated to be closely related to the chances of development of a criminal career by the particular individual.

---

[1] *Bevoelkerungsfragen* (Munich, 1936), pp. 366-667, 671-672.

THE GESTALT THEORY IN GERMAN PSYCHOLOGY[1]

BY DR. SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., D.PHIL. (LEIPZIG)
Lecturer, Calcutta University.

TOWARDS the beginning of the present century a band of young scholars of Germany while experimenting with the psychological problems connected with our perception of movement hit upon a new interpretation of the facts of mental life and laid down a new programme for psychological researches. The new theory has since been known throughout as the Gestalt theory. It has already succeeded in catching the imagination of a large section of young psychologists all over the world and has even led some of the veterans to examine anew the basis of their own traditional views. It is about some of the aspects of this new movement in the history of psychology that I have been requested to talk to you to-day. It will be a pleasure to me to do so but the subject being essentially of a technical nature I am rather doubtful whether it will at all be a pleasure to you to listen to the discourse.

In order to be able to appreciate the significance of the movement as a whole it is necessary at the outset to travel back some years and from a general outlook as to the state of psychological researches prior to its birth and the nature of the problems and the methods of investigation which were then current. For the new movement bears within it a tendency to bring about a radical modification of all of these. I had already an opportunity of placing before you at a meeting held under this very auspices a short history of the rise of Experimental Psychology.[2] Many of you will perhaps remember that it was in Germany, at the University of Leipzig, that Psychology first established itself as a full-fledged scientific discipline. It ceased to be dominated by the deductive methods of philosophical and metaphysical studies created for itself a definite place amongst the natural sciences and started investigations on its own account in its newly founded laboratory. The method that it then adopted was the method of all sciences, namely, Observasion and Experiment and the task that it set itself was the understanding and explanation of the complex mental states and processes by resolving them into their constituent elements. Analysis thus stood at the forefront of the programme of the new school of psychologists of that period. At the same time, however, determination of the laws of synthesis found an equally important place and side by side with experiments devised to detect the nature and number of elements in a complex structure of consciousness were carried on tests to determine the conditions of their synthesis, colligation and co-ordination. Inspired by Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of the first psychological laboratory of the world, a group of psychologists, every one of whom became famous subsequently and illumined the pages of the history of the science, carried the message of the new path to every corner of the globe and worked out the programme laid down by him with exemplary vigour and zeal. Laboratories sprang up in every country and a generation later India too saw the birth of one under the auspices of the University of Calcutta.

---

[1] Public Lecture delivered at the Laboratory of Experimental Psychology (Calcutta University) on 26. 9. 36 under the auspices of *Bangiya German Vidya Samsad* (Bengali Society of German Culture).

[2] "Experimental Psychology in Germany" (*Calcutta Review*, February, 1934), pp. 156-159.

About four decades passed smoothly since Wundt introduced the experimental method in the study of mental phenomena. In the meantime analytical procedure particularly under the masterly guidance and able direction of Titchener amassed a mass of new materials regarding psychological phenomena which helped us considerably in our efforts to understand the contents of our mental states. What would, for example, Herr Hitler find if he can for a moment turn his attention away from the far-reaching significance of the policy that he is formulating and direct it to the internal processes that constitute his act of thinking, what would have Bach or Brahms discovered going on in their minds it before giving concrete shapes in the form of musical notation to their airy imaginations they decided to look inwards, to introspect as we say technically, what for, for example, would you come across if just at this moment you attempted to analyse your present listening attitude— all these can be laid down now with more or less precision on the basis of the materials collected by following the Wundt and Titchenerian analytical methods.

After the elements have been discovered the next task of the psychologists was to find out the physiological correlates of mental processes, the bodily substratum of mental life, as it was described by Wundt. Intensive study of the physiological processes has accordingly been one of the main duties of these psychologists and no analysis of mental phenomena was supposed to be complete unless a probable physiological basis of the analysed constituents was formulated or suggested. An assumption, however, lay at the bottom of this whole precedure, *viz.*, that regarding the relation between the two entities, Body and Mind. Parallelism between the bodily and the mental series, psychophysical parallelism as it is commonly described, was regarded as the best working hypothesis. Corresponding to every bodily state a mental state was supposed to exist and *vice versa*. It was further assumed that a one to one relation exists between a physical stimulus and the sensation that it produces, *e.g.*, a wave length of 700 $\mu\mu$ will always evoke a sensation of redness in a person with normal colour vision and if it does not do so the fact must needs be explained in terms of other known constancies. In fact the existence of particular constancies of relation between physical stimuli and corresponding mental states has been one of the basic assumptions of this school of psychologists and the determination of these constancies, one of their chief subsidiary tasks.

This then was the position of the main body of psychologists before the advent of the Gestalt theorists with their destructive criticisms and constructive programmes. It need not be denied that there had been other schools of thought and different points of view throughout the period of dominance of the Wundtian system but they failed to make themselves felt partly on account of inherent defects in their own systems and lack of experimental evidence in support of their theories and partly because they were unable to stand against the mighty current of enthusiasm created in favour of the radically novel and highly promising programme of Wundt. Opposition however was gradually gaining in strength and at the beginning of the present century about half a dozen different schools acquired sufficient eminence to claim equal recognition along with the Structuralism of Wundt. The Gestalt school seems just at the present moment to be the most formidable of all the opponents It is based on the very experimental method introduced by Wundt himself and it contends to have successfully avoided the pitfalls involved in the analytical procedure of the Wundtian system. It will be my duty now to give you some details, omitting technicalities as much as possible, about the main tenets of the new school and to consider how far it has helped us towards a better understanding of the problems of our mental life.

The English equivalent of the German word Gestalt is shape or form. Titchener in America suggested the term configuration to be used in connection with this school of psychology but it seems that none of the terms are necessary in as much as the original German term is freely used now and understood by all interested in psychology. The word itself presents the fundamental note of this school of psychologists. In opposition to the elements that are postulated by the structuralists as the basis of all our mental experience the Gestalt school posits 'pattern' or 'Gestalten' as the original forms of our experience. In 1912 Wertheimer[1] had been conducting a series of experiments on the perception of movement and, on grounds of the experimental data collected, he came to the conclusion that perception of movement is really a unique form of our experience and that it defies all attempts at analysis into constituent elements. Whenever the stimuli are arranged in a certain pattern or Gestalt we perceive movement and even stationary stimuli may under certain conditions create in our minds the illusion of movement. Two lamps, for example, lighted one after the other may be perceived simply as two successively lighted lamps, but if the interval between the lighting of the lamps be reduced considerably the lamps may be perceived to be lighted simultaneously. There is however an optional interval of time between the lighting of the lamps which if observed will produce the impression of a single moving light. All of you, I am sure have noticed the electric light advertisement of Lipton's tea at Chowringhee. You distinctly get the impression of movement but does anything move there ? No. The fact simply is that one light burns after another. What then creates the illusion of movement ? Neither light No. 1 nor light No. 2 will explain the observed phenomenon of movement between them but you have to take the whole situation, *viz.*, light No. 2 following light No. 1, after a certain interval into account, *i.e.*, the whole pattern constituted by light-interval-light has to be considered in order to explain the perceived movement. Perception of movement in this case therefore is generated not by the two lights themselves but by the two lights arranged in a particular temporal and spatial order. Getting their inspiration from these experiments, Wertheimer, Köhler and Koffka, the three recognised pioneers and leaders of the school, extended their fields of enquiry and subjected all our other modes of perception, qualitative, spatial and temporal, to new experimental tests. Nowhere they found could perception be explained as a combination of elements, of sensations and images. The so-called elements may remain the same in a situation yet the perception of the whole may differ. Similarly elements may differ yet the perception may remain the same. Some of the experiments are really of a highly interesting and ingenious nature. They serve to bring out the main point that pattern is given directly and is the fundamental characteristic of all our experiences. It may be theoretically possible to break up this organisation into hypothetical and abstract elements but you will never get the total itself by a combination of the elements. The whole has always properties of its own which cannot be explained in terms of those of the parts. A melody is always more than a mere succession of tones, and the mere pointing out of the tones that comprise it helps us little in understanding it. When you remember a tune you do not remember the keys but the pattern of sequence and organisation. Form or Pattern however is not another quality just added to the elements, as Von Ehrenfels was inclined to believe. Such an assumption only increases the number of elements to a limitless extent, for numerous are the forms under which we experience things, and it adds further complications without rendering any aid to our understanding. Why just this formality is added to these particular elements is a question which the theorists of the Ehrenfels school have never been able to answer satisfactorily.

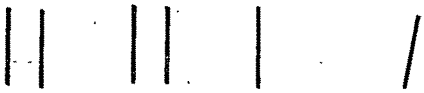
---

[1] M. Wertheimer Zeitzchrift füer Psychologie "Experimentalle Studien Über das Sehen von Bewegung," 61, pp. 161-265. 1912.

Let us try to understand a little more clearly what the Gestalt psychologists seek to maintain. We should remember that " their research has lain predominantly in the field of perception, though it has extended also to the spheres of behaviour (human and animal), of learning and of intelligence and has even made excursions into the domains of physiology, biology and physics ; for the whole living organism is, it is maintained, a Gestalt, as is also, for instance, the solar system.[1] In the sphere of perception Gestalt psychology maintains that pattern is given immediately and is not resolvable into elements. This can easily be demonstrated by simple experiments. Observe, for example, the following figure.

---

[1] Flügel F. C., A Hundred Years of Psychology, 1933, p. 243.



Do you perceive eight lines or four pairs ? I am sure most of you will accept the latter alternative. This tendency to grouping is independent of experience and the pattern of the pair is presented as soon as the lines are presented. It is not a fact that the lines are first observed as lines and then are combined into pairs. It is only sophisticated persons whose minds have been debauched by too much psychological learning of a particular type, to paraphrase a Miltonian expression, who will be inclined to put forth such a statement. But psychology is not confined to the study of the mental processes of a particular type of persons. Show the figure to any normal human being, psychologist or not, academically trained or not, and hear what he says. You will be convinced of the truth of the statement that pattern is an original unlearned datum of experience. Consider another example. When a child recognises its mother or you recognise your friend in the street, is the fact of recognition in either case dependent on the combination of elements, *e.g.*, of the eyes, the nose, the lips, etc., which form parts of the face or is the face recognised as a whole? Who will accept the former alternative as his answer? None, I remember however that Cowper once wrote a letter to his friend saying that if he found one day that a partyof human noses, or ears was walking about the streets, he could at once pick out the nose or the ear belonging to his friend provided of course that the olfactory or the auditory organ of his friend were members of the party. That was however jocularly said. It is quite possible that you have never paid much attention to the individual parts themselves. If some one suddenly asks you on which side of the head your friend parts his hair you will perhaps find it difficult to answer immediately and the reason according to these psychologists is obvious. You have all along been guided, as all men are, by the whole impression and this impression of the whole you have not formed in your mind by adding together impressions of the parts. It is only when necessity arises that we proceed to divide the whole into parts and then it is the necessity that dictates the principle according to which the division is to be carried out. Parts therefore have no meaning by themselves but derive their significance entirely from other considerations.

Granted that the figure shown above and the example cited, demonstrate conclusively that a Gestalt is a original unit of experience. The objector may argue that the illustrations are unfair. A figure has been deliberately chosen where the possibility of grouping was present. Suppose there was only one straight line drawn on the blackboard. Shall we not perceive it as a straight line ?

If so how would the Gestalt psychologists explain that perception ? The latter however justly claim that the illustrations given by them—I have here chosen only two—are not selected with the deliberate object of misleading the unwary into their trap but that their principle stands firm in any case of perception that can be cited by their opponents. In the case of a single straight line on a blackboard just quoted what we perceive is not merely a straight line but the figure of a straight line on the background of the blackboard. Nothing can be perceived unless it stands out from the background. The background contributes as much to our perception as the figure or the object itself. If the background be different the same figure or object will be perceived differently. A grey strip of paper on a red background appears greenish but the same strip on a yellow background is perceived as bluish. Familiar illustrations from our everyday experience are plentiful. Interpretations of others' behaviours are notoriously coloured by the background of the interpreter's attitude. " His gait is awry whom we like not " is the literal English version of a Bengali saying well known to you. Leaving aside interpretations, even simple observation of facts and objects is dependent to a great extent on the background on which they are perceived. The size and shape of things are influenced by those of the surrounding objects and the colours of objects are largely determined by the nature and intensity of the light of the surrounding field.

This then is one of the fundamental concepts of the Gestalt school *viz.*, that it is not the stimulus itself but the stimulus in relation to a background that it is responsible for the kind of experience that we have. There is thus no one-to-one correspondence between the stimulus and the sensation as the followers of Wundt maintain. One of the tasks of psychology is to determine the conditions under which objects assume figurehood in order that they may be perceived on a background. The same object may be a figure at one time and ground at another. Experiments have to be devised to find out the nature of the changes that should be introduced in the total environment in order that there may be a change in our perceptual field. This is the problem that we should investigate. "We should forget that old problem of elements and study organised wholes as they occur in experience and in performance. Under what conditions does a certain pattern occur ? That is the real question, they held—a question that needs to be asked over and over again in every chapter and problem in psychology."[1]

In Gestalt studies of behaviours we find the same emphasis on the organised wholes and the same dislike of the stimulus-response conception. The action of men and the reaction of animals are always pattern reactions or configurational responses. They are organised units and are not composed of isolated movements or combination of discreet movements neither are they composed of discreet habits, instincts and wishes. Many illustrations may be drawn from daily life. Let us consider an appropriate one—the case of a lecturer speaking before an audience. " He is on the platform, talking. He does not pause to scrutinise each individual face or to analyse the movements of each person ; he does not hear the scuffling of individual feet. On the contrary, he grasps the total situation at once, apprehending the attitude of the group as a whole toward him........... He then reacts to the total situation by exerting greater effort to interest them. Perhaps he tells an appropriate story ; perhaps he introduces more illustrations or resorts to a number of dramatic devices in order to change the attitude of the group. In any event the stimulus to which the speaker is reacting is the group and not its individual members. It is an ensemble of noises, gestures and movements, not any isolated occurrence."[2] On the other side the reaction itself was a configurational response. " If we choose to single out the fact that the lecturer consciously put forth effort we call it voluntary. If we wish to emphasise the fact that he used methods he had previously learned and had frequently employed we speak of the act as habitual. If we wish to emphasise the fact that the functioning of a certain part of his nervous system, called the autonomic system, was an outstanding factor in his reaction may call it emotive and so on. He was not making use of several 'capacities' at once; he was performing a single act which is to be described according to the particular conditions and points of reference which we may have in mind at the time.[1]

---

[1] Woodworth, Contemporary Psychology, p. 103.
[2] Wheeler, The Science of Psychology, pp. 76-77.

As with the behaviourists, experiments on animal learning form a large part of the programme of the Gestalt psychologists. Köhler's psychological studies of the chimpanzees at the anthropoid station established by the Germans just before the world war at Teneriffe in the Canary Islands have become classic. Compelled by circumstances to live there during the whole period of the war he had ample time to make extensive observations. The problem that he set himself was to find out whether these animals whom we usually regard as intelligent animals showed any real intelligence. Intelligence however is a very vague term and many and varied definitions have been given of it. Thorndike was once prompted to say that by intelligence we now mean that which we measure when we apply the Intelligence Tests. Köhler meant by real intelligence something more than trial and erorr. "He meant insight in the sense of seeing what one is doing."[2] The numerous experiments on cats, dogs and smaller monkeys by Thorndike seem to suggest that "learning by trial and error, without anything that would be called either reasoning or insight was practically the exclusive method of animal learning."[3] Köhler found enough evidence of insight in the animals and attributed the negative results of Thorndike to the latter's faulty method of procedure. Thorndike employed mazes and puzzle boxes which were totally blind situations for the animals. Köhler, on the contrary, argued that "the elements of the situation should all be visible and the question should be whether the animal could combine them—whether the animal could see the pattern of the situation."[4] The simplest satisfactory condition of experimentation would then be to place food or an objective within the visual range of the animal but to block the direct path to it, say by a fence, leaving open an indirect way also in the clear view of the animal. Köhler's chimpanzees solved not only such simple problems but more complicated ones too with considerable ease.

---

[1] Wheeler, Science of Psychology, p. 78.
[2] Woodworth Contemporary Psychology, p. 122.
[3] Woodworth, Contemporary Psychology, p. 122.
[4] Woodworth, " " "

The point of theoretical interest that is gained from the study of all these facts and experiments is that the reactions of animals and men are never to isolated stimuli but to situations which mean stimuli in relation to each other. The reactor, the figure and the background form one Gestalt, variation in one of which brings about a change in the total configuration. Isolated stimulus and isolated change in behaviours are meaningless. They cannot be understood except in relation to the total situation. Thus Wheeler formulates the law of configuration as follows:—" Any reaction of the human organism, as a whole, is a unified response made to a total situation of some kind and, if to a specific detail always to that detail in relation to other details. We may call this total situation a situation-pattern or arrangement of stimuli."[1] This he lays down as the law of configuration as applied to conscious behaviour.

Not confining themselves to the study of animal and human behaviours, the Gestalt psychologists pushed their investigations to the inorganic world too.[2] They were driven to it partly by the very logic of their own standpoint. Man is in constant relation with what is described as the physical world and a full understanding of human actions therefore necessarily involves the study of inorganic matter as it forms an integral part of the total Gestalt of which man also is another. Action takes place in the inorganic world as a result of the disturbance of forces and stresses. Man's actions may also be considered as events in nature happening under the same conditions. Accordingly configuration is now conceived in more general terms as an organised system or energy or system of movements, which as a unit affects other systems. And the law of configuration just formulated is further generalised and enunciated as follows:—" Energy exists in the form of systems or configurations of stresses, and if one system affects another the changes that take place are changes of the total systems. If a change occurs within a given system, the system as a whole governs the change."[3]

I think I have given sufficient factual and experimental materials to demonstrate to you the foundation on which the Gestalt psychology has built itself. Their main contention is that in trying to understand mental processes and behaviours of men and animals the totality and the wholeness should always be emphasised. Not only the products which are admitedly wholes, *e.g.*, personality, character, etc., but even those processes and conducts which appear to be isolated or single, can only be understood and interpreted if the total situation is taken into account. For, in nature everything is a Gestalt, a pattern, just as the solar system and the whole universe are Gestalten. Accordingly the programme of psychological investigations should be revised and we should seek for patterns rather than elements. Phenomenological description rather than introspection of the analytic type advocated by the existentialists should form the method of psychology. Analysis is a barren method and we never go far by following it. It creates an artificial conglomeration of sensations and other so-called elements which does not help us in understanding human behaviour. The psychology which first tries to identify the elements and then works up to larger and larger compounds has been described by the Gestalt psychologists " as brick and mortar psychology with emphasis on the brick because the trouble was to find the mortar." [1] Association as an explanatory principle in the sense in which the term was used by the association school is to be given up because it explains nothing.

---

[1] Wheeler. Science of Psychology, p. 77.

[2] Köhler. Die Physischen Gestaltent im Ruhe und in stationaren Zustand.

Wheeler, Science of Psychology, p. 78.

Considered as a system the Gestalt psychology is primarily a revolt against the analytical methods of Wundt. Probably—according to the system of thought we are considering certainly—this revolt is an integral part of a more widespread revolt of Germany against the disruptive tendencies of the age. The idea of organisation was in the air and it found expression in many different fields, among them in the field of psychological thinking too ; as elements, disruptive elements probably were running rampant there without any relation with each other, any order or system. Because it brought the much-needed order out of disorder, cosmos out of chaos. Gestalt psychology has taken all German psychology by storm. The concept of value was banished from psychology by the Wundtian system with the consequence that psychology gradually lost all touch with concrete human affairs and tended to end itself in barren speculations with meaningless abstractions. An attempt was made, specially by the Americans, to re-establish the connection of psychology with life through the way of Applied Psychology. Measurement of intelligence, of vocational aptitudes, aptitudes of personality, etc., brought psychology again into contact with the concrete problems of life. But this method was not suited to the intellectual climate of Germany and therefore did not find much favour there. The idealistic traditions of Germany make the German always more interested in the significance of events than in the mere events by themselves. As Koffka says, "The meaning of a personality, prominent in history, art or literature seems to the German mind more important than the pure historical facts which make up his life and works; the historian is often more interested in the relation of a great man to the plan of the universe than in his relations to the events on the planet."[1] It is therefore easily intelligible that such a revolt in the psychological science as we are discussing was possible in Germany only. A scientific theory of the present day which has the concept of value or significance as one of its deepest roots, is a peculiarly German product and may easily be passed over in countries where the immediate present with its needs always holds the centre of the stage.

---

[1] Woodworth, Contemporary Psychology, p. 101.

The way in which the theory has been introduced to the public by Koffka in his latest book, in a sense precludes all criticisms of the theory. If one agrees with its fundamental standpoint the agreement is merely an expression of the fact that the theory forms a good Gestalt with the intellectual, temperamental and other aspects of his nature and contrarily if a man does not agree it is because a good Gestalt cannot be formed in his case. There will be no justification for the latter, saying that the theory is incorrect. We therefore seem to be brought to this absurd position that we must acknowledge Gestalt theory to be better in the sense of more current theory than the Wundtian but, at the same time from the very nature of things are debarred from evaluating the Gestalt theory itself. Fortunately however the facts are not as hopeless as they are led to appear by Koffka's method of presentation and none of the Gestalt psychologists claim their theory to be Caesar's wife.

The laws of logic shall continue, so long as things remain as they are to be the ultimate tests of all theories. Any theory which violates these laws meets immediate revision. Let me say a few words with regard to this theory judging it purely from the logical standpoint. As regards the question of perception it may be safely said that Gestalt psychology has definitely demolished the bundle hypothesis. The one to one correspondence assumed in the Wundtian system has been amply demonstrated by Koffka,[2] Köhler,[3] Helson,[4] and others to be entirely non-existent. Though I do not claim to be at home in the idealistic traditions of Germany, the traditions of my own country and possibly my individual temperament incline me to agree with the fundamental tenet of the Gestalt school that the whole, the totality needs always to be taken into account and that without it the parts have no meaning and no explanation of any event is possible. But I think the Gestalt psychology goes too far when it declaims against all analysis. I have a suspicion that the Gestalt psychologists are here confusing two issues, one relating to facts and the other relating to the understanding of the facts—factual analysis and conceptual analysis. Wundtians have never denied that perception is chronologically prior to the elements that they assume, and that perception is always more than the sum of the elements involved. In fact Titchener the immediate intellectual successor of Wundt has definitely said so in his Text-book of Psychology. So far as facts are concerned therefore there are no disputes. But if a theoretical analysis of the process helps us to form a conceptual picture of the whole what is the bar to such analysis? Why should this analysis be banned from psychology? Besides, factual analysis is in many cases possible. The taste of sweetness, *e.g.*, can be identified and felt in the total qualitative perception of lemonade. Too much I am afraid has been claimed on both sides. On the traditional side the claim is put forth that all experiences are analysable and on the Gestalt side that no experiences are analysable. I would admit that all experiences may not be factually analysed but I think it is contrary to the traditions of scientific enquiries to set any limitation to the process of conceptual analysis.

---

[1] Koffka, Principles of Gestalt Psychology, p. 18.

The Gestalt psychologists themselves speak of the combination of Gestalten, *e. g.*, in the case of Köhler's Chimpanzee who combines two sticks to secure the food none of which alone reaches up to the food. They characterise Gestalt again into good ones and bad ones thereby introducing the concept of the degrees of Gestalthood. How can a big Gestalt be resolved into smaller Gestalten except by analysis? If some analysis be allowed when and why should the process be stopped at any arbitrary place?

[2] Koffka, The Principles of Gestalt Psychology.
[3] Kohler, Gestalt Psychology.
[4] Helson, Studies in the Theory of Perception. Psy. Rev., January 1932, pp. 44-72.

From another standpoint what I feel about the theory is that it s incomplete. Finding out the native and elementary Gestalten leaves things much as they were before. The unitary principle, the mortar, has not been found as yet. Instead of single bricks we now have two or more bricks join together as units. The Gestalt principle needs to be supplemented by another one, *viz.*, that of dynamism. The use of the terms dynamic organisation is not sufficiently adequate to meet the demands of the situation. The Ganzheit, *i.e.*, developmental school of Krüger or the psycho-analytical standpoint is a necessary adjunct to the Gestalt school. The peculiar importance and influence of the Unconscious has not received proper recognition.

To me it seems that the best way of treating Gestalt psychology itself would be to consider it as a supplement to the Wundtian system, supplying what is lacking in the latter, rather than as an opposing system as is usually done. Inspite of Koffka's recent voluminous book a complete exposition of psychological facts on Gestalt principles is not forthcoming as yet. That is however no demerit of the theory. Efforts are being made in all countries in the shape of extensive observations and ingenious experiments to taste thoroughly the validity of the principles and to determine the range of their applicability. Though undoubtedly it is in many respects an advance, a real advance in psychological researches, time alone will show how much of it will be retained and how much must necessarily be given up.

It is not possible to give a full account of this new movement in the history of psychology in the course of an hour's lecture. No one is more keenly conscious of the gaps that have necessarily been left in the presentation of the views of the school. I do not think however that any deliberate injustice has been done. Though sketchy in character let me hope that the paper has been able to give you an idea about the meaning of the word Gestalt and has thereby enabled you to form some conception about the school of psychology known in English as Configuration.

ART TEACHING IN INDIAN SCHOOLS *

BY O. C. GANGOLY

I have been charged with the duty of making an appeal to you to give our students an opportunity to acquire information and knowledge through paths other than those of the beaten tracks of the written and printed words. It has been a stock complaint of the critics of our system of education that our intellectual and spiritual outlook has been obsessed by too much of literary education, with disastrous consequences on our economic and industrial life. Even from the cultural point of view and the liberalizing aims and objects of education, the practice of confining ourselves to literary records as the only gateway to knowledge and education—has weaned our attention away from the most valuable records of the human mind accessible to us through the visual and the plastic arts. The masterpieces of artists and craftsmen offer, I venture to claim, as rich and as potent means of attaining knowledge and culture,—as any of the masterpieces of literature. Those who claim to lay the foundation of a liberal education have no right to ignore the valuable aids offered by the works of plastic arts,—the masterpieces of painting, sculpture, architecture,—the handicrafts nobly planned and nobly designed and decorated with inspiring patterns and symbols. If you agree with me that half of the most inspiring records of the human mind, the most valuable spiritual utterances of human thought are imprisoned in the alphabets of line and colour,—in the poems of linear design, in the vocabulary of forms, in the intriguing sentences of colour and patterns, then, Sirs, you will admit that it is the essential part of your duty,—as high-priests of knowledge and as responsible guides to our youths in their intellectual and spiritual adventures, to help and co-operate in a scheme to provide for our students confided to your care, suitable opportunities to come in contact with works of plastic art, at least, to help to keep intact their normal faculties of enjoying, understanding and interpreting works of beauty. The

---

* A lecture delivered to the teachers who attended the Vacation Course in Education in summer 1936, organised by the Teachers' Training Department of the Calcutta University.

aesthetic faculty, the power of enjoying and understanding the significance of colour and forms—in the wonderful visions which the Creator has provided in abundance in natural scenes and objects, is a God-given faculty of great spiritual significance which it is the duty of all teachers and caretakers of youth to preserve, to refine, and to develop. This divine faculty of appreciating and creating Beautiful Forms—like any other faculties of the human mind, is in frequent danger of being paralysed and lost, for ever, for want of opportunity to use and to exercise the same. Poring over our books and bending over our spelling lessons—without compensating reliefs which could afford opportunity to keep alive our aesthetic faculty have a tendency to injure and ultimately to destroy this faculty which is one of the most valuable spiritual gifts of God made to man. It is a matter of common experience—that when our best students and scholars emerge from the schools and colleges,—laden with all manner of medals and diplomas, prizes and certificates, in proof of their proficiency in book-learning,—they have become perfectly impervious to messages of beauty and are unable to understand, appreciate, or enjoy any masterpiece of music, or the merits of beautiful works of plastic arts,—the great monuments of our aesthetic records. On the other hand, they, generally, develop a sense of disrespect and, sometimes, an opposition to the values of music, or of the plastic arts—to which they refuse to accord the same place or status as the works of literature. Having lost their normal faculty—which exists in abundant measures in all children of average mental equipment,—they are unable to respond to, or derive any benefit from, any manner of musical, or aesthetic experience. To listen to music is looked upon as an idle occupation. To look at pictures is regarded as a piece of juvenile stupidity, unworthy of learned people stuffed with knowledge derived from stupendous tomes and ponderous cyclopaedias. They get into the habit of looking upon artists and lovers of art as frivolous triflers and sentimentalists and they banish as bad form any display of the emotions or imaginative expressions. Indeed, the student goes out into the world with a mental blind spot that impoverishes all his later experiences. The recent growth in the interest of music, and the popular broadcasting of musical programmes, as also the various music schools and the musical competitions, encouraged by our patrons with medals and prizes,—have helped to brush aside the cobwebs of superstitions which learned people, at one time, took into their heads to weave as a barrier against the invasion of music. But the study and the understanding of the Plastic Arts are still under a ban and they are regarded as untouchables in all our school and college curriculum. By the enterprising foresight and energetic endeavour of our Vice-Chancellor, a new innovation is about to be introduced in our Matriculation curriculum—which, for the first time, will provide a place for the study of the Fine Arts—for the benefit of our coming generation of students. It is your peculiar privilege to carry into practice—this pioneer endeavour in this country, to lay the foundation for a new Temple of Knowledge.

Before we set out to devise practical plans for an effective system for the training of our aesthetic faculties, it is necessary to take into consideration certain fundamental principles—principles which are derived from the study of child psychology—and from the experiments with child mind, and which our theorists of education have discovered by experimental tests and on the basis of which our methods of teaching are being built and frequently rebuilt in the light of new data. As you know, Sirs, modern psychological science has, during recent times, made vast inroads into the hitherto unconquered territory of mental phenomena. By various practical experiments and tests it has been discovered : firstly, that the child's native intelligence does not appreciably increase after the age of puberty ; secondly, that the most important traits of character, normal or pathological, begins to manifest themselves at an astonishingly early age ; thirdly, that the emotional, the imaginative and receptive faculties are at their highest state of brilliance and sharpness up to the age of adolescence. A true conception of the nature of the child mind demonstrates that during the pre-verbal levels of experience, *i.e.*, before the child mind is able to express itself accurately and logically through the medium of words, it functions and expresses itself through the medium of vision. Before it acquires the skill of writing, it spontaneously expresses itself through the visual language of Drawing and other plastic methods of self-expression. This exactly repeats the history of the psychology of the Primitive Races and of the evolution of the language and of art and of literature. The Plastic Arts—the skill of expressing ideas through the visual medium,—long preceded the skill of using the verbal language, in the history of the evolution of the human race.

Recent studies have established the fact that the most critical years for the emotional development of the child life is between the age of 4 and the tenth year of life. It has been called the pre-logical or non-logical stage of mental development—a critical period during which the emotions complete their full development and require careful nursing and feeding. It has been further established that the imaginative tendencies of early childhood are of outstanding importance not only for the emotional development and mental health of the child, but they are of a significant factor, also, in intellectual development at this stage. William Healy, one of our well-known modern theorists of Education, has pointed out the harm that follows upon the repression of imagination, and he attributes to such repression the development of many undesirable traits of personality in later life.

On the basis of these fundamental principles, I propose to discuss, with your kind permission, the ways and means to formulate a practical scheme in our already crowded curriculum and the heavy time-table of our class-room work. I know that there is, already, a severe demand on you to initiate extra class-room activities, such as the outdoor games, the Boy-Scout exercises, and *Bratachari* dances, and it would, indeed, be another cruel imposition—if I claimed from you a big slice from your heavy time-table for the luxury of a 'pictorial' education. If I claimed to tread on the time devoted to spelling, grammatical, and other lessons,—you would have very little time left to give our students the rudiments of reading, writing, and 'rithmetic. At the same time, it is possible so to allocate and subdivide the teaching hours as to make our class-room work well balanced to cover all the subjects,—science, mathematics, history, geography, the languages, and last, though not the least, the study of pictures. In America, the Junior School programme is now made to include Art as a completely differentiated subject, entirely separate from, though at the same time intimately associated with, the other differentiated subjects of the Junior School curriculum,—a study which represents Art as a distinct field of human experience exactly co-ordinate with the fields of science, mathematics, history, geography and the languages. In addition to devoting a few special hours for the study of Pictures, every week, it is quite possible to introduce pictures as collateral and stimulating appliances to help the teaching of the other subjects, to vivify and visualize ideas picked up in the course of the other lessons. It is certainly possible, at least in the three subjects, History, Geography and Languages, to introduce pictures as useful aids to drive home, in an effective and an impressive manner, the lessons given in History, in Geography, and in some of the stories figuring in the text-books of the language group. As has been remarked by a great educationist, "Picture Study is one of the most powerful methods of instruction known". By the aid of pictures, by visualizing the ideas conveyed by the oral lesson, one can help to record in the minds of our pupils—the results of our teaching in a pleasing, in an impressive, and in a permanent form. It is a commonplace of educational psychology—that an appeal "through the eyes," is much more effective—than an appeal "through the ears." You must have noticed during the last few years, a tendency to introduce into the text-books recommended by the D.P.I. for our young boys and girls, a large number of pictures and illustrations. Unfortunately, most of them are so badly and clumsily reproduced, invariably, without any colours, that even when they are well selected—they wholly fail to achieve their purpose, namely to satisfy and stimulate the aesthetic faculty of the normal juvenile minds,—the craving for Form and Beauty. I do not blame the text-book writers. On the ground of economy and for the purpose of keeping down the price of these text-books, they cannot afford to provide good and accurate illustrations, not to say of attractive facsimiles in colours,—in our juvenile text-books. We have, therefore, to supplement this endeavour by taking some initiative ourselves.

For our History lessons, we have now an abundant supply of relevant and useful illustrations—in numerous photographs which practically cover—the whole range of the lessons suggested in our junior text-books on History. Apart from photographs of many phases of our historical records and ancient monuments, gathered by the Archaeological Department, many of the interesting phases and events of history have been painted by many of our artists, and which have been reproduced in cheap but effective colour Reproductions—published in our magazines. The keen and alert teacher of history, having the right kind of enthusiasm, can easily collect from the pages of our discarded monthly magazines, or from the shelves of our way-side hawkers a fine collection of historical pictures out of which he can make a very useful "Picture Book of Indian History." Armed with these attractive aesthetic weapons, he could make his hour of history-lesson—the most rich in intellectual feast, and most alluring and attractive to the curiosity of his students. By the use of a few photographs, picture post-cards, and a handful of colour prints, pilfered from the pages of our magazines, history lesson need not be a dreary effort to memorize a string of unfamiliar and forbidden names and dates, but could be made to be a living pageant of a visible feast, the outstanding characters and events of history being made to live before the eyes of the juvenile students in an attractive and an enjoyable array of pictures. In the English schools, it is the practice to decorate the walls of the class rooms with historical pictures. For many reasons, this is not a suitable device for the conditions of our schools and the poverty of our resources. I would prefer, therefore, the use of small photographs, picture post-cards and cheap colour facsimiles to be placed before and circulated to the students during the lessons and skilfully interspersed with the oral instructions. Refreshed and rejuvenated by an occasional excursion into pictures,—by a dip into a world of visual feasts and pictorial concepts—the student will go back to the text of his printed books with additional zest and will be prevented from developing any *ennui*, or distaste for the occupation of poring over the books for a whole sixty minutes of the period. This will not only help the students to memorize the substance of his lessons quickly and effectively, but also help to keep alive his innate feeling for forms, his natural joy for colour—in short, his whole aesthetic faculty and his power of response to the spirituality of Beauty, in an easy, effective, and unconscious manner. The history lesson will thus be used in an indirect way and as an excuse to afford facilities for the aesthetic faculty to function and develop, by keeping their visual powers keen and alert.

In the teaching of Geography, as you know from practical experience, maps, diagrams, and illustrations afford the most important appliances to bring home to the students the data of both physical and regional geography. As Dudley Stamp, our greatest authority on this subject, has insisted for the hours for Geography, *at least* half of each lesson should be devoted to the study of the maps, diagrams, and illustrations. Indeed, none of the class-room hours in a school demands such opportunity for visual instruction and pictorial demonstration as the hours set apart for Geography. Even for the most dull and inattentive students—the hour for Geography is looked forward to, with keen interest and anticipated joy. The enterprise of publishers has now placed, at the disposal of teachers, a large number of isothermic, orthographic, contour and photo-relief maps, which are indispensible aids to the teaching of Physical Geography. But the most attractive apparatus for the Geography lessons are now available in a very interesting series of air-photographs (published by the Central Aerophoto Co. Ltd. of London). A selected group of photographs according to the needs of our schools should form the equipment of the teaching apparatus of every school and should be at the disposal of our Geography-teachers. In the case of schools too poor to purchase these photographs—a duty is cast on the Geography teacher to make a portfolio collection of published photographs and reproduction bearing on many phases of Geography, particularly for India. For an enthusiastic teacher, having a love and devotion for his work, it is possible to make a rich collection of large half-tone Illustrations or Prints which frequently appear in the pages of the *Illustrated London News, Times Illustrated Weekly (Bombay), Indian Railway Magazine, Illustrated India,* and many of the Geographical Magazines published from Europe. For population and agricultural data, for typical mountain, river, and forest scenes and also for zoological illustrations, the torn pages of some of these journals will offer materials, in the hands of the enterprising teacher, which no amount of expensive text-books can possibly give. I am quite sensible of the fact that to many of our Mofussil teachers away from cities, it may not be possible to take the initiative of making portfolios of these manner of illustrative materials, for they have not the opportunity to scrutinize and select from old magazines in hawkers' booths, such as we have in this city. And it is to be hoped that the Geographical Society of this University would take up the matter and make a suitable collection of these illustrative prints which could be lent out and circulated in groups of portfolios to the Mofussil schools for your study and use in Geography lessons. I am making a plea for a richer use of illustrative materials in the teaching of Geography—as from my own point of view, this will afford a very salutary and healthy exercise of the powers of vision and the aesthetic faculty by feeding and stimulating the innate hunger for pictures ; the natural craving and curiosity for forms ingrained in the juvenile mind.

To teachers of the languages I would make a similar appeal to devise ways and means for visualizing the stories given in the text-books by the use of pictures, whenever, and as much as possible. We are undoubtedly at a disadvantage, as our junior class text-books now available cannot afford to have good illustrations of well-chosen and well-reproduced quality. But, whatever is worth doing is worth doing well. The poor smudges and wood-cuts, badly selected and badly reproduced, that disfigure our text-books for the schools—are mostly worse than useless. They hardly utilize any of the best masterpieces of painting and sculpture and offer very little incentive to the growth of the visual faculties. I am tempted to refer to a series of text-books for the senior classes—published by Neslons under the heading *Reading and Thinking*. They have used in this series, pictures many of them in colours, reproduced from the acknowledged masters of painting, borrowed from the public galleries of Europe. In the economic conditions prevailing in our publishing firms and the buying capacities of our school customers, it is unreasonable to expect such well illustrated books being published for the benefit of our boys and girls. But, in the meantime, it is the duty of our teachers to try and make up amateur collections of useful and beautifully reproduced pictures,—in portable portfolios,—to be used judiciously in the course of the language lessons as interesting accompaniments, as curious commentaries, as pictorial parallels to the stories told in the text. For an enthusiast having an eye for pictures, it is quite possible to borrow—from discarded and old numbers of pictorial magazines,—quite a formidable portfolio of interesting masterpieces, which could afford stimulating devices for conveying the lessons in a vivid and impressive manner. This manner of adventitious pictorial aids, has greater advantage over the illustrated text-books. As by repeatedly looking at the same pictures in the same text-book every day, the illustrations in the pages of the text-book lose their attraction, interest, and novelty, the surprise introduction of new illustrative materials—in the course of a reading lesson in the class-room—whets up curiosity, by its novelty and unfamiliarity, helps to enliven the lessons with unexpected interest and has a novel and surprising appeal. For schools which could afford to spend small sums, the collection of colour reproductions available in Chatterjee's Picture Albums and for European themes an abundant supply of the picture-post-cards beautifully reproduced by the museums, are available at nominal prices. I am aware that many of the young students get opportunity, at home, to browse over the pictorial magazines to which their parents subscribe. But the same pictures, over which they listlessly look at, without any guide or help, acquire a new significance and prestige, when introduced by a teacher during a lesson in the class-room and made a part of the teaching lessons. Being related and made significant by the teacher with helpful and interpretive words,—with reference to the readings in the text—the same picture arouses quite a different sensation, gains additional values, opens up vistas and trains of ideas and thoughts and mysteriously helps to unlock their secrets of treasures which the average child may be unable to discover for himself by gazing at them, without proper help and guide.

In addition to giving a strong pictorial bias in the lessons for the literary courses as suggested above, I would make a demand for a few special hours in the week being devoted to contact with pictures for their own sake, that is to say, not merely as collateral studies for making history, or geography lessons more effective and attractive, but to study pictures for the purpose of realising their colour-values, their draughtsmanship and quality of line, their principles of composition, and the significance of their pattern,—in short to make the students realise and respond to the visual qualities of pictures, apart from their subject-matter. Contact with real works of art keeps alive the visual powers of appreciative and creative consciousness, and helps to sharpen and develop perceptiveness for form and colour. Good pictures are in themselves education. If the eye is to become more sensitive and the imagination quickened, we must give opportunity to the students to come in contact with masterpieces of art. Children should be given every opportunity to become acquainted with good pictures from an early age. Looking at pictures is the best visual training possible. Because the artist's powers of observation are keener than those of the average man and the artist's works frequently compel us to look at Nature with new eyes. Through his vision, our own vision is developed and our imaginative and perceptive faculties are stirred and stimulated. We must make arrangements, therefore, for placing works of great artists before our boys and girls, from the infant classes upwards, in a graded series, suitable for each class. For schools, situated far away from the cities, it is impossible to place original works of art before our children. Happily in the modern methods of reproductions, we have facsimiles accurately reproducing the quality of the originals and very helpful in creating interest in pictures and enjoying the beauty of works of art. For a very modest sum, it is possible to collect a graded series of selected reproductions of masterpieces of painting and sculpture, suitable for each class, which could be circulated to the students during the " Picture hour " in the school every week. For the average young mind, with its power of response to form and colour in a natural state,—no oral interpretation of the pictures or any formal instructions on the principles of design or colour harmony are necessary. The picture themselves will take the place of text-books, and draw out from the normal child its appreciative response and reactions. Pictures by the master-artists are well designed apparatuses which have immediate powers of colouring the juvenile mind and setting fire to its imaginative powers and to arouse all its perceptive faculties. After the pictures have been circulated to the class—say for fifteen or twenty minutes—and the children have been allowed to look at them and to study them attentively for some time, by batches, according to the number of pictures available, questions could be asked by the teacher as to the points or features of the pictures which have specially appealed to them and to encourage them to make free and frank criticisms of the pictures. For the purpose of stimulating curiosity, helpful information bearing on the subject-matter of the pictures could be offered by the teacher, who should persuade and encourage the students to concentrate on the pictures in an observing mood. It is difficult to suggest cut-and-dried formulas or methods for stimulating the interest and curiosity of the students. One must improvise methods of approach according to the capacity, the temper, and the mood of his class, the general principle being to lead the horse to the water and also to make him drink. Personally, I believe in a theory that masterpieces of works of art of the richest quality have in themselves the power of compelling attention and to impose its gifts on the beholder so that all that is necessary is to place the beholder in contact with them, through carefully chosen examples, and to so arrange matters that the beholder may be able to present his concentrated attention without any other distraction, that is to say, to provide a reasonable opportunity to the picture to pour its magic powers over the mind of the beholder. The appeal of pictures to the human mind is direct and immediate and is not dependent on any intermediary, or any verbal instruction. All that would be necessary is to induce the students to strike up an acquaintance, to break the ice as we say, and then the students and the subject of his pictorial lesson will begin to talk to each other in their own way, without any interference on the part of any teacher, or instructor. Indeed, young children do achieve a good deal in the way of self-teaching ; the self-teaching of the later years also is largely dependent upon the freedom for such self-teaching that is granted to the child in the early stages. On the other hand, the underlying principle of this innate possibility of the normal child mind to make friends with pictures—is based upon the well known dictum of psychology that our sense-experiences are independent of any logical cognition of objects. "*Na hi vastuśaktirbuddhimapekṣate*" (न हि वस्तुशक्तिर्बुद्धिमपेक्षते). 'The sensory potentiality of an object is independent of any logical process of thinking.' If we put our fingers in fire and or in ice the effect is immediate, they do their work before we could think out a rational explanation why fire burns, or the ice benumbs our finger. If the receiving apparatus is in a normal condition, that is to say, if the sensitiveness of my fingers has not been injured by paralysis or by any accidental defect, the fire or the ice will do its work immediately. It follows, therefore, that for a normally sensitive child, the response to the pictures, provided the latter have "fire" or stimulating powers, is direct and immediate. For the the abnormal, the backward, or the inhibited mind, some help to establish contact with the source of stimulation is necessary. For this purpose, sympathetic words may be helpful to induce the shy or the dull student to establish contact with pictures. It is essential that the source of stimulation—the pictorial apparatus—must have the necessary dynamic qualities. It must be a real masterpiece—rich in pattern, and design, full of significant or vibrating colours, well massed, related, organised and harmonized, and spaced and divided by lines of varying depth, of intensity, of delicacy and rhythm,—in short endowed with all the essentially good qualities of a picture *quâ* picture, Our pictures must, therefore, be carefully selected master-pieces, not second-rate or mediocre ones lacking in force or vitality, or poor in composition or colour harmony. It would be unreasonable to expect teachers in schools, however keen and enthusiastic, to provide for these pictorial apparatus for the aesthetic education of our children. I am expecting that some provision will be made from a central bureau in this University, to send out selected examples of photographs and facsimile reproductions in colour of carefully selected examples of famous masterpieces, grouped in portfolios of different grades suitable for the different classes. And we shall depend on your co-operation, to try and use these apparatus to stimulate the aesthetic sensibility of the children confided to your care. It is intended to give emphasis on examples of Asiatic Art, and pictures with Asiatic subjects, though simple and well-known examples of European Art of universal appeal should also be included in our portfolios, which will provide pictorial text-books for this pictorial course of education.

It is expected that contact with pictures may inspire some amount of practical imitative efforts—some spontaneous endeavour to construct pictures, for, it is proverbial that art is in a way very much infectious. And it is quite possible that experience with pictures may lead to practical experiments to make and compose pictures. A normal child bubbling with aesthetic energy, naturally seeks outlet for self-expression through scribbling, drawings, and other paths of aesthetic expression. Generally, these practical aesthetic efforts are suppressed and inhibited by our elders. These practical efforts to make pictures should be encouraged and stimulated. The most practical way of encouraging these efforts is to provide a sort of " impromptu " Art Gallery where children's drawings and pictures could be hung up and exhibited. Some walls in some corridor, or verandah—or the largest wall-space of any large-size class-room—could be set apart for exhibiting the works of these juvenile artists—our potential " masters,"—which would easily attract comments and criticisms by other students and class-mates, and help to keep alive active interest in pictorial and aesthetic matters. This impromptu galleries of pictures contributed by our little ones should have very valuable uses for the study of the child-mind and for collecting valuable data for the theories of education. A study of the drawings of children constitutes a revelation of the progress made even by retarded or inhibited children who become swiftly at home in the pictorial medium, and are able to express their otherwise inarticulate thoughts. It seems that such children should be given ample opportunity to exercise their ability in this way. Such joyous experimenting with a chalk, or a pencil, and overcoming stage by stage of difficulties in handling this plastic medium of expression, must inevitably lead to a more general improvement in the child's otherwise dull mental reactions, due to a growing confidence in its own powers, often sadly lacking in the verbal lessons of book-work. The opportunity to abstract, through the symbolism of drawing, what is not easily otherwise expressed, is beneficial to the inhibited or the backward children, as is also the accompanying desire to tell about what they have made.

Freedom in drawing has, thus, therapeutic values and helps to remove clogs from the mental machinery, and helps the mentally deficient to work and function in a normal and healthy manner. For, according to the modern theories of education, the dull child is one with a sick mind, requiring careful educational treatment. The opportunity to express on-self through drawings affords valuable help to a mentally deficient, or a " limping " child, to recover its infirmity, and to walk with its other companions in the class with greater self-confidence, and recovered mental powers. These drawings may also be useful psychologically in many ways as evidence of the child's mind and the process of its growth, or development. They are the barometer of the mental heat of the child and give us valuable information concerning its intellectual development, emotional interest, artistic ability, or temperamental characteristics. A recent attempt to study the drawings of young children from a purely intellectual point of view is that of an educationist named Goodenough who has attempted to arrive at a measure of intelligence of the child-mind, upon the evidence of drawings alone and of the single subject of the human figure. On the other hand, the drawings of children form a valuable record of their imaginative activities. In these juvenile drawings there is concrete evidence, if we can understand and interpret it, of the child's interests, his general attitude to environment and particularly of the way his ideas gradually develop in relation to a medium of expression. In this branch of Experimental Pedagogics, one of the most important of these researches is that of Kerschen Steiner of Austria who collected one hundred thousand drawings of children and classified them. He divided them into three groups according to the stage of developmeut through which children seem to pass with regard to expression through drawing. There is first the stage of schematic drawing, in which the child draws what it knows or believes of an object without any reference to, or direct observation of, the object itself. This is followed by a stage in which objects are definitely studied and copied. In the third stage, some attempt is made to show three-dimensional space. Burt, an English experimentalist, distinguishes seven stages in children's drawings, from the un-differentiated " scribble " of the infant to the artistic culmination of the adolescent. This is a very interesting topic to which we could hardly devote any time in the course of this discussion of the practical steps for a programme of the aesthetic training of the child. We have dealt with the provisions for appreciation of pictures through passive contacts by means of reproductions and photographs. We have just now dealt with the necessity to allow the children to handle the pencil, or the chalk, for the purpose of a free artistic expression,—however crude or elementary in form. The third and the last item in our curriculum is the necessity for opportunities to come into contact with the Beauty of Nature.

I said, last, though not the least, is the necessity to keep in touch with the Beauty of Nature—Nature which is the great teacher of all artists and craftsmen, Nature with her rich vocabulary of forms and colours, Nature as the prototype of fine and beautiful forms, Nature as the source and repository of all aesthetic experience, Nature as the great Book of Beauty which is the handwriting of God, in which the divine messages of spirituality are recorded for the benefit and uplift of humanity. Two practical methods could be suggested for an intimate contact with and an opportunity for the worship of natural beauty. A part of the school compound could be set apart for a little miniature garden for flowering plants in which the students could be induced to take some practical part such as watering and weeding out the flower-beds. Most of our school gardens invariably prove to be disasters, in consequence of the depredations of wicked students bent on mischief ; but many such tragedies could be prevented, if the students themselves could be given, by turns, some responsible part to plant the flower-beds and to help them to grow, so that their personal interest and pride in growing a little miniature garden for themselves may afford another opportunity for aesthetic enjoyment, in watching, from day to day, the progressive growth of a plant from the seed to its flowering stage.

A second practical step for contact with natural beauty could be suggested in weekly excursions with the children to some interesting spots, some public gardens, river banks, or rice-fields where opportunity to study impressive sunrise, or sunsets could be given to students under the guidance of some teacher who could entertain the students by interesting comments and stimulate their powers of observation and sharpen their visual faculties. In the schools of England, ~~the~~ love of nature and the study of the natural sights and scenes including studies of bird and beast-life have been a cult in all educational curriculum, and quite a crop of text-books on " How to see Nature " with beautiful illustrations for the use of the teachers have been published lately. Unfortunately these text-books are mostly related to specimens familiar to the English school boys, and objects and examples native to English rural life and scenes. Yet they may be utilized by us,—for the purpose adopting their suggestions according to our own needs and conditions and for selecting specimens familiar to our own native province. The fundamental consideration on the matter is that our aesthetic experience is primarily invoked in relation to the beauty of Nature, and the creations of Art are inspired by the aesthetic forms found in natural scenes and objects. Nature is sometimes called the Art of God ; and the phrase admirably describes the actual experience ; the phrase implies, what in that experience we always feel, that Nature is impeccable, un-approachable, and above all criticism. Nothing in nature is ugly ; when we deny that a natural object is beautiful, we are reflecting not upon the object, but upon ourselves. As such, every natural object is equally beautiful.

God takes as much pleasure in the squirrel and the hippopotamus as in the nightingale and the lion ; His handiwork is a sufficient guarantee of perfection and if we fail to see that perfection, the fault is our own. This follows necessarily from the feeling of passivity: that feeling implies that beauty is everywhere around us in endless profusion and that all that we have to do is to accept what is given to us in abundance by a Bountiful Hand. Another peculiar quality of natural beauty is its quality of immediacy, or spontaneity. It is something for which no one has worked, something that has come absolutely and exquisitely right by no effort, but by a pure act of divine grace. The lotuses and jesamines take no trouble over their clothes and for that reason their clothes are perfect, The mountain is beautiful because no one has built it, the forest, because no one has planted it, the lightning, because no silversmith has touched it with hammer and file. This effortless spontaneity of nature is in every case not something accidental to its beauty but the very heart and essence of its beauty. Natural beauty is thus beauty in its immediacy, or spontaneity, a beauty whose special quality is its freedom from effort. There is the same difference between its effortless perfection and the result of artistic effort that there is between the goodness of a person who seems to do right by instinct and that of one who does right by struggling with his temptations. In short, Nature's song is the song of Innocence: Art is the song of Experience. Yet the value and function of the study of Art is indeed great in understanding and interpreting Nature. If we are educated to train our vision with the sensibility of the artists,—with our sense of sight sharpened and refined,—we shall be better qualified to study the forms of Nature, and to dive into mysteries inaccessible to our untrained eyes. Will your refuse, Sirs, to give to our children the taste for the Beautiful, the highest revelation of God that we are allowed to see ? Will you refuse, Sirs, to give our children an opportunity to develop the aesthetic third eye of Spiritual Vision ? I appeal to you, Sirs, to join me in my humble prayer in the words of the Vedic Sage " May we and our children obtain and contemplate on all lovely things " *Viśvā Vāmāni dhhīmahi ! Viśvā Vāmāni dhīmahi !*!

THE SPIRITUAL LIFE AND ITS ✓ REALISATION[1]

SUSIL KUMAR MAITRA, M.A., PH.D.
Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Calcutta.

THAT science delivers truth while religion is a pleasing self-deception may be one of the Freudian idiosyncrasies with which western thought on the whole may not agree, but in respect of its objective emphasis it does represent, and is so far typical of, that objectivistic, externalistic view of the spiritual life which marks out the western outlook as radically distinct from that of the east. Freud's speciality may be his insistence on an objective science as distinguished from a religion that is subjective and wish-motivated, but the belief in an objective salvation of the spirit is common both to the Freudian who believes in a scientific liberation and his theological antagonist who looks forward to a religious deliverance from isolation and subjectivity. Common ground between the Freudian and his devout opponents is the belief that the spirit realises itself in trans-subjectivity and self-transcendence, that it is in the object and the right seeking of it through knowing, feeling and willing that the spirit's true fruition lies. What in the Freudian view is to come through an objective science and its empirical methods, is, according to religious belief, a matter of trans-empirial realisation in a supra-scientific objectivity.

The general trend of western thought is thus towards an empirical or a metempirical objectivity as the spirit's highest end and destiny. This objective view dominates alike the western conception of the theoretical and the practical consciousness. It underlies its theories of the intellectual life quite as much as its theories of morality. The goal of the theoretical consciousness, according to western ideas, is the rationalisation of the given reality, the spirit's self-finding in that which is the other, and so far independent of, the spirit. The task both of science and philosophy is the spirit's self-affiliation to the given objectivity, a spiritual self-merging in the object. We are told that it is the spiritualisation of matter rather than the materealisation of spirit, but the fact remains that looked at from the side of the spirit the process does not appear to be anything else than one of despiritualisation and self-alienation. Thus the logical consciousness as distinguished from the alogical is thinking objectively, the subject's self-merging in the object entailing the renouncing of all subjective preconceptions, prejudices and associations. The progress of the theoretical consciousness is a movement towards an increasing objectivity, a progressive objectification of the self in a process of self-finding in that which is not itself. Theoretical progress is thus a march towards an increasing objectivity with a correspondingly receding subjectivity, the subject's progressive self-discovery in a reality which is independent of itself, self-realisation through self-negation, living through perpetual self-dying. That the intellectual effort is never crowned with complete success and that our highest scientific and philosophic achievements fall short of that complete intelligibility that logic proposes to itself as its goal, is neither a proof of the futility of the objective effort nor conclusive of its inherent antagonism to spirit. Our partial achievements are only temporal reproductions of a timeless rationality which is the completely objectified reality of the absolute spirit. Thus religion is laid under contribution to make good the deficiencies of an ever-incomplete science that never realises the absolute rationality it aims at. The western view of the practical consciousness is only a further extension of its theoretical outlook in this respect. Here also we have the selfsame objective conception of the spirit as unceasing movement from a less satisfactory to a more satisfactory objectivity, as the progressive self-objectification of the spirit in an increasingly coherent whole of will-posited objectivity. The practical consciousness is thus a supplement to the theoretical objectivity, being the reconstruction and transfiguration of the given reality into a more satisfactory realisation of the spirit's unfulfilled aspirations. The difference between the theoretical and the practical consciousness does not lie in respect of the objectivity of the outlook but arises from a different emphasis as to the source of the original objective impulse. Thus while the theoretical consciousness adapts itself to an objectivity which it finds and does not itself bring into being, the practical consciousness aims at an objectivity that is not found but only ideally suggested by the given reality. The stress howevsr in both attitudes is on an objective fruition of the spirit either as the spirit's self-finding in a given objectivity or as its self-objectification as a suggested objectivity transcending the given actuality. The progress of the moral life is thus a process of unceasing self-objectification, an endless progression from a less satisfactory to a more satisfactory objectivity as the spiritual ideal to be accomplished. That the process drags on without end driving spirit from one object to another in an eternal spiritual unrest argues, we are told, no defect in the moral ideal. What is timelessly realised in the eternal life of the absolute spirit is being reproduced as an endless progression in the temporal lives of finite creatures. Thus religion once more is requisitioned to make good the deficiences of an unceasing object-seeking that never realises its desired end. What is a mere ideal and therefore a something to be is, we are reminded, the eternally accomplished reality which the moral life only recapitulates and does not bring into being. The goal both of the theoretical and the practical consciousness is thus the spirit's self-realisation in a completed and finished objectivity, its self-affiliation to the absolute spirit as a completely objectified divine personality.

---

[1] Writer's address as president of the "Ethics, Social Philosophy and Religion" Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress held in December, 1936.

The above, we contend, is a fair presentation of the general trend of western thought. The underlying idea throughout (with perhaps the solitary exception of Kant) is that of an objective fulfilment and realisation of the spirit. It colours western logic, western ethics, western art and western religion. In respect of the objective emphasis there is hardly any difference between western realism and western idealism. All schools agree as to an objective consummation of the spiritual life, their dtfferences arising only in respect of the kind of object that is to constitute the spirit's fruition and fulfilment. The governing principle of western thought is thus that of the incarnate spirit or the spirit concretised and objectified as a trans-subjective reality.

It is this objective idea of the spirit, *e.g.*, that inspires Hegel's idealism. Hegel's advance on Spinoza, we are told, consists in his conception of the absolute as concrete self-conscious spirit, *i.e.*, as spirit realising itself in the consciousness of its objective modifications. It is this self-realisation through conscious self-objectification that constitutes, according to Hegel, the life of the Absolute as concrete spiritual reality. Spirit unconscious of itself, spirit without conscious objectivity is empty, abstract spirituality without life, the dead carcase mistaken for the concrete, living spirit. Reality is spiritual as an eternal self-filling and self-concretion—it is spirit conscious of itself as objective and objectified experience. The movement of experience is the objective unfolding of the eternal spiritual reality, the spirit's self-mediation in conscious self-objectifiction. The life of the absolute is thus a perpetual give-and-take, a giving forth of itself as objective content and a conscious self-attaining and self-fulfilment in the consciousness of its objectivity. The eternal reality mediates itself through itself in the consciousness of the finite—its outgoing as objectified reality is also an incoming or returning into itself as concrete self-conscious spirit. Art, religion and philosophy represent the successive stages of this self-mediation through self-objectification. Art is the absolute mediating itself in the consciousness of the finite as objective sensuous image: it is the self-concretion of the absolute as the form of the artistic object, the absolute objectifying itself to sense as symmetry or harmony of sensible form. But art necessarily falls short of the spiritual content it represents: the absolute content as spiritual necessarily transcends the sensuous limitations of artistic representation. The religious consciousness represents an advance on the artistic in this respect: it is the experience of the absolute content as a personal self-communication of the absolute to the finite spirit, a dual reciprocal objectivity of the absolute to the finite and of the finite to the absolute, the self-communication of God to man and man's spiritual unity with God through prayer, devotion and love. Here the form being better suited to the nature of the content, the religious plane represents a higher level of absolute consciousness than does artistic representation in symmetry and beauty of sensuous form. But even religion does not take one into the heart of the spiritual reality. It presents the absolute content as felt experience, *i.e.*, as feeling or subjective certitude. Thus the absolute of religion lacks objective necessity, *i.e.*, falls short of its character as self-justifying reality. And so as art is superseded by religion, religion in its turn merges into philosophic realisation. Philosophy is the realisation of the absolute as self-necessitating objectified experience. Philosophy thus represents the highest stage, the fruition and fulfilment of the absolute consciousness. What religion presents as a subjective necessity of feeling, philosophy realises as an objective necessity of thought. The triad of art, religion and philosophy are thus the three ascending stages of the absolute consciousness realising itself as objective and objectified experience.

From the foregoing it is sufficiently clear that Hegel is no exception to the general run of western thinkers in the objective view of the spirit and its realisation. For Hegel as for western thinkers generally there is no self-realisation except through self-objectification, the absolute, in Hegel's view, being real as the objectified absolute content of the different forms of absolute consciousness. Thus Kant's lesson of the first Critique is simply brushed aside and his conception of the subjective, functionistic *apriori* is twisted into that of the self-objectifying absolute mediating itself through itself in the consciousness of the finite. And so in place of the autonomous subject as the unobjective constitutive principle of objectivity we are offered the objectified subject as the true fruition and fulfilment of the spiritual reality. Nor is this all. For the sake of the symmetrical rigidity of the triadic spiritual movement, art is affiliated to religion, and religion to philosophy, and the three together made to constitute the three ascending stages of the self-objectifying absolute consciousness. That art is expression of inner emotion and as such the spirit's self-objectification in individual image is undeniably true. But this is very different from saying that art is the realisation of the absolute in sensuous form. Any emotion, we hold with Croce, may be matter for artistic expression, and art is art as successful expression of the inner emotion. Art may be described as the self-intuiting of the soul in an individual image, the concrete image-expression of the inner sentimental tumult. The absolute may be matter for artistic expression in this way quite as much as the relative and the finite, what is necessary for the expression being an inner emotion or a stirring of the soul within. Hegel's restriction of art to the absolute content is thus an artificial and arbitrary narrowing of its sphere not warranted by the facts of experience. Nor is Hegel's view of art as *realisation* altogether free from confusion. Croce is unquestionably right in denying the consciousness of reality in art, art, according to him, being distinguished from logic by the absence of reality-consciousness. Hegel's view of art as *realisation* thus betrays an obvious confusion of expression and realisation. To express is not necessarily to realise. That art is conscious self-expression is undeniable, but it is sheer confusion to mistake the enjoyment of the expressed emotion for the consciousness of its reality. Art, we hold, is both enjoyment and free contemplation, enjoyed objectivity as well as the detached contemplation of it. Art, in this respect, may be regarded as a kind of spiritual self-emancipation, the spirit's self-freeing from its conscious objectivity. It is emancipation however not as realisation in a sensuous objectivity as Hegel says, it is emancipation rather as transcendence of the enjoyed self-objectivity. It is, in short, a kind of free subjectivity contemplating its own objectivity with detachment. We may say that art is a preparation in this respect for the higher freedom of pure subjectivity which Indians call *svarūpāvasthiti*. *Svarūpāvasthiti* is the spirit's rest in itself, spiritual self-repose, the freedom of unadulterated spirituality emptied of all objectivity. Art is a preparation for this higher subjectivity as the detached contemplation of an enjoyed self-objectivity.

Our discussion of Hegel's philosophy, we hope, has sufficed to bring out the predominant objectivity of its spiritual outlook. We may add that a similar objectivity is the characteristic note of Neo-Hegelian idealism. Consider, *e.g.*, Green's view of the spiritual life as spirit's self-finding in nature. Here also we have the same objective view of spirit as realising itself as the objectified system of phenomena. And this holds of spirit both as theoretical and practical, *i.e.*, as the theoretical comprehension of the given reality and the practical remoulding of it in the life of will and conduct. Thus what is nature as the unalterable system of phenomena, is, according to Green, intelligible only as the self-objectification of spirit as nature's necessary presupposition. And the moral life is only a carrying further of the work of theoretical consciousness in this respect: it is the progressive realisation of an ideal which is suggested by, though not discovered as actual, in the given objectivity. And as the spirit is thus doomed to an endless progression to an ideal that never is, we are asked to put our faith in God as the completed objectivity we are reproducing in our finite lives. Thus the rational life resolves itself, according to Green, into living objectively, both as intellect and will, after the pattern of the realised objectivity of the absolute spirit. A similar objectivity of outlook also distinguishes Bradley's absolutism, though here, we must add, there is the further suggestion of a supra-objective reality which is both the negation and the transmuted reaffirmation of the empirical objectivity. Bradley's absolute, in short, is object-transcending only as object-reaffirming in a supra-logical whole of trans-empirical objectivity.

The Neo-Idealism of Croce is also no exception to the general rule. Here also we have the selfsame objectivistic view of the spiritual life as objective self-fulfilment through objectified self-expression. The life of the spirit, according to Croce, is unceasing self-objectification as intuition-expression of the spirit's 'inner "sentimental tumult:" it is the spirit's *apriori* aesthetic synthesis of feeling and imagination, the intuition or objectified expression of its inner stirrings. But intuition is only the first stage of spiritual fruition: the satisfaction which it brings is that of successful expression. Side by side with this satisfaction however appears a new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the intellect to know, *i.e.*, to sort and classify the image-expression as reality. Thus intuition passes over into perception, *i.e.*, into the knowledge of reality. In this way the *apriori aesthetic synthesis* becomes a new synthesis, an *apriori logical synthesis* of representation and category, of subject and predicate, which is the knowledge of a fact as the particularisation of an universal, the perception of the image as reality. Even logical synthesis however does not represent the last stage; with the satisfaction of knowledge appears a new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the desire for action. With the appearance of knowledge, in short, appears also the consciousness of value, every new reality known generating a new ideal possibility and a new sense of value, with new concomitant aspirations, desires and longings of the soul. And so the logical synthesis prepares the way to a *practical apriori synthesis* which as a new desiring and a new feeling is a new passionateness of the spirit that craves for appropriate expression. And thus the spirit moves on spirally from expression, through logic and the practical synthesis, to renewed expression at a higher level, this circular movement being repeated at higher and higher stages as spiritual life advances. Thus in Croce's Neo-Idealism we have once more a repetition of the objective view of the spirit as necessary circular movement from objectified expression, through reality and ideal aspiration, to objectivity again, the process dragging on without end being the endless progression of the spiritual life. In short, what is a temporal recapitulation of a completed and finished self-objectivity according to Hegelians, is the spirit's endless self-objectifying in a progression *ad inifitum* according to Croce and the Neo-Idealist.

We have so far discussed western Idealism and have refrained from discussing western Realism. Any detailed examination of realism is however unnecessary as the objective outlook in realism is too obvious to require any special investigation. We shall therefore refer only to Hartmann's "Ethical Realism" as substantiating our contention in the main. The spiritual life, according to Hartmann, realises itself through emergent objective values which have *apriori* objectivity independently of the subject. Thus in place of Kant's *apriori* as a subjective function Hartmann will have the objective *apriori* of axiological determinations. Values, according to Hartmann, get inserted into the ontological system through the instrumentality of the conscious subject, and the subject as the actualising principle of the ideal objectivity becomes a moral subject and the seat of moral attributes. The conscious subject is, in other words, the connecting link between the axiological and the ontological objective: it is through the subject's consciousness of the axiological objective and his consequent effort of will that the non-actual, axiological value gets inserted into the order of ontological reality. And the actualising of the axiological value is itself an occasion for the emergence of a new axiological determination, *viz.*, the subject's moral value as a value-actualising agent. Thus moral value presupposes non-moral: it is the value of the subject realising extra-moral values. But value, both moral and non-moral, is an objective axiological determination, and is neither the subject's self-projection or function, nor its self-assertion against a disappointing and unsatisfactory objectivity. The emergence of value is not inconsistent with its objectivity, though actuality is not a necessary implication of it.

The above brief summary of Hartmann's philosophy is hardly sufficient to do justice to the profound richness of his many-sided thought. It however does bring out the unmistakable objectivity of his general position. The *apriori* which for Kant is a subjective function is made into an objective *apriori* which the subject recognises but does not constitute. And spiritual fruition is conceived as consisting in the subject's acquisition of objective moral value through the actualisation of extra-moral axiological values. And thus an objective salvation of the spirit is chalked out as consisting in the spirit's insertion of the axiological objective into the ontological system.

The above will suffice as illustration of the general trend of western thought which, as we have pointed out, is predominantly objectivistic and is incapable, it seems, of the conception of a de-objectified spirituality emptied of all objective determination. To Indians, however, this is an inherently false view of the spirit, an objective fulfilment being, according to the Indian view, the spirit's self-alienation and complete negation of its intrinsic self-autonomy.

Even the Buddhist, *e. g.*, who avoids a positive definition of the spiritual life, is one with orthodox Hinduism in repudiating the object-lust as a mistaken and illusory phantom-chase. And the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas who consider the self to be a knowable or *padārtha* and therefore an object among other objects yet repudiate an objective self-fulfilment as the spirit's highest end or goal. Thus the self's *mokṣa* or freedom is, according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, its emancipation from all relation to the not-self, a condition of pure, detached selfhood wherein all experience and therefore all conscious relation of self to the other ceases. But in Sāṅkhya and Vedānta the concept of the unobjective self is carried, one may say, to logical perfection and completeness. Thus Vedānta and Sāṅkhya not merely repudiate an objective fulfilment of the spirit as do the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, they also reject the objectivity of the spirit itself which neither Naiyāyikas nor Vaiśeṣikas altogether discard. Thus while according to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas the self is a substance and consciousness its quality and both therefore are knowables or objects, according to Sāṅkhya and Vedānta the self is pure consciousness as the unobjective light that illuminates all objective contents. Hence the self is the self-luminous intelligence that reveals contents without being itself a content. Contents are the other of the self, the objectivity which the self posits and makes significant. The self is the unobjective negation of the objectivity it posits, the self-certifying reality that is at once the affirmation and cancellation of all objectivity.

The self thus being both the position and negation of all objectivity, the so-called objective movement of experience must be read as a process of progressive disillusionment rather than as objective self-fulfilment. There is progress in the moral life no doubt, but the progress is not a forward movement from a less to a more satisfatory objectivity as the west conceives it. It is rather a negative movement towards spiritual emancipation and liberation from the objective obsession. The higher stage is higher as transcending grosser and commoner illusions, but is not itself anything better than a subtler and more refined illusion to be superseded in its turn. Hence the so-called forward movement is a progress towards spiritual deobjectification and self-emptying—a progressive emancipation from the spirit's objective thraldom. It is not, as the west conceives it, a movement towards a fuller objectivity or a more completely filled life. It is a progressive self-purifying through self-stripping, the successive casting off of the spirit's objective garments.

The west conceives the intellectual life as a forward objective movement of the spirit consisting in a progressive rationalisation of the brute matter of experience into a coherent, intelligible whole or unity. That the process never reaches completion being doomed to an endless progression from a lesser to a greater intelligibility is sought to be made good by the hypothesis of a completely intelligible whole of experience which is being reproduced piecemeal in the life of the finite intelligence. But the fact that the unity that is aimed at is of contents that are logically repellent ought to have suggested the impossibility of a completed unity which is proposed as a supplement to the incompleteness and failure of the objective effort of the finite intelligence. The lesson which was thus thrown away on the objective west has, however, borne fruit in subjective India in the concept of the autonomous self as the presupposition as well as negation of all objectivity.

Western moral theories exhibit the same objectivity of outlook as do its logic and its theories of the intellectual life. Thus the spiritual life in its practical aspect is conceived as a progressive objectification of the spirit, first as a coherent individual life, next as a wider and more coherent whole comprising the individual in relation to other individuals in society, and lastly as the moral life which is that of the good citizen in a well-organised state as the society of all societies. It is taken for granted that a perfect ordering of life, individually in respect of the self's desires and inclinations, and socially in respect of the individual's relations to other individuals in society, is not merely a desirable but also a practically possible consummation and is conducive to true self-fulfilment and self-realisation. But none of these assumptions, we contend, will bear examination in the light of actual experience. No life, we hold, is a positively coherent life in the strict sense, the so-called good life being good not as being more coherent and self-satisfying than the life of the incoherent, bad will but merely as cathartic self-release, as a present escape from an unsatisfactory instability which, however, does not itself bring either the coherence or the satisfaction it promises. The best-organised life in this respect is as far from being a self-satisfying stable life as is the so-called unorganised, unstable life of the bad man. And this holds of the personal life both as an individually ordered whole of feelings and inclinations and as the socially organised unity of the individual life in relation to other individuals in society. In society no less than in the relatively isolated life of an individual considered in abstraction from the social whole, there is neither that perfect ordering which is conducive to true self-fulfilment nor any real identity of interests miscalled a general will. Outside the small family-group consisting of parents and children, there is no natural society in the strict sense nor any real common interest equally shared by the constituent units. All associations larger than the family are artificial compositions that have originated in, and are maintained into being by, the sanction of superior brute force. To say that in organising individual life in relation to the social whole the individual realises his permanent as distinct from his passing interest of the moment seems to us to be a wilful perversion of the real truth in the interest of the powers that be. We may as well say that the caged bird that loses the use of its wings through long imprisonment realises itself in so far as it sings to its master and ministers to his self-gratification and delight. Nor should we overlook the obvious fact that the state is no more a society of all societies than is any particular religion the religion of all peoples. The state is only one closed group amongst other groups with nothing but irrepressible hostility towards all similarly organised groups which even the fear of war does not always suffice to keep down. Nor does the state in practice represent internally that general or common will of all which in theory is usually attributed to it. The empirical state in actual practice is nothing but an instrument of coercion controlled by a powerful minority for the exploitation of the majority—a minority who manipulate its executive, its judiciary, its laws and even its constitution and its methods of franchise to their own special ends. To say then that the best life is that of the good citizen in the state seems to us to be a hypocritical misrepresentation of the real facts in the interest of an exploiting minority who represent none but themselves. That the good citizen of a state may be a very bad citizen of the world is also only too obvious to be obscured even by the interested sophistry of a so-called disinterested moral theory. Nor does the life of the good citizen (or of any good member of any society for that matter) represent that self-fulfilment and fruition of the spirit which, according to the objectivistic view, ought to constitute the test and the criterion of the morally good life. For, if the truth is to be told, the good life in this sense is more often a perpetual self-frustration and self-negation by an unscrupulous minority who monopolise the social power than one of expansive self-fulfilment and self-realisation. It is besides an inherently false view of the moral life that makes it consist in the simple discharge of the appointed duties of one's station in life. Morality has neither a fixed station nor any predetermined code of duties. The moral life, we hold, is a perpetual unrest—an unceasing progression from one dissatisfaction to another. There is no satisfaction in the moral life. Satisfaction is rest, quiescence of soul, but rest and quiescence are the negation of morality. Satisfaction and contentment are, no doubt, desirable qualities of the soul, and the satisfied, contented man is a very lovable companion in social life. But he is as far from being a morally good man as is an useful machine in good, working order. To be moral is to be dissatisfied, to be in unceasing conflict with the actual, to be always stretching forward to an ideal that never is, but always to be. To find morality in one's fixed station and its duties is to mistake both one's moral station and the duties it entails.

We are told however that the incompleteness of the moral life is rectified in religion as the experience of a realised ideal which in mere morality remains a subjective aspiration to be realised. It is further suggested that religion as transcending the limitations of the empirical state enables the pious man to live as the citizen of a perfect state as the incarnation of the divine spirit eternally realising itself in the society of finite spirits. Thus what the visible state fails to achieve through the egoism of politicians and the larger egoism of an exclusive nationalism, the pious man realises in the higher religious consciousness of the divine life as realising itself in the lives of finite creatures. By living up to this higher consciousness, man lifts himself above the narrowness of a political morality and the illusoriness and unreality that characterise the merely moral standpoint. Thus morality without religion may be an illusory phantom-chase void of purpose and meaning, but morality transformed and transfigured in the fervour of religious emotion is neither an unmeaning pursuit of an ever-elusive phantom nor the seeking of an egoistic political end subserving the interest of a powerful minority.

All this, we contend, is true, but not strictly relevant to the issue. Before the point of the argument may be conceded, the preliminary issue to be decided is whether a religious extension of the moral consciousness can be justified in the light of actual experience or whether it has to be taken on trust and accepted as a matter of faith. The fact must not be overlooked that the religious content being not translatable into actual vision (we are discounting mystical realisation) has much greater need of an empirical justification than any ordinary belief easily convertible into its cash-value in experience. The lesson of the moral life, it should be noted, is decidedly against any such objective satisfaction of the spirit as is usually held out by religion to be the spirit's ultimate end or goal. If morality teaches anything it is the futility of the objective effort, the illusoriness and unreality of the object-hunger as capable either of fulfilment or satiety. Nor does the progress of the intellectual life presage that objective unity or wholeness of the spirit which religion assumes as the reality we reproduce piecemeal in our finite lives. For the unity uniting one fact to another is unity only as the annulment of their empirical diversity and is thus the negation of their respective individuality. The ideal unity of the intellectual life is thus the negation and cancellation of all empirical objectivity, the deobjectified unity of the subject affirming itself as the negation of the objective. That the intellect fails to achieve what it aims at arises from its aiming at the impossible, *i.e.*, at an unity that will be the resolution as well as conservation of all empirical differences. Hence the evidence both of the theoretical and the practical consciousness is against the reality of the religious content, *i. e.*, of an objective consummation of the spirit as a coherent whole of experience. Where vision fails, faith is a legitimate supplement, but a faith which is not merely trans-empirical but also contra-empirical, a faith, in other words, which is a direct negation of experience and its express teachings, is nothing but a pleasing illusion and a wilful self-deceiving.

Religion as personal communion with an objectified absolute spirit we hold, then, to be an illusion which we deliberately nurse and foster with the object of strengthening the illusory object-chase of our intellectual and moral life. It is needless to say that here we are in agreement with Freud's estimate[1] of religion as a pleasing self-hypnotism and an unconscious self-deception. But we also differ from Freud in so far as we repudiate Freud's view of science as the panacea that will cure the spirit's object-longing. We hold that science, morality and religion (as ordinarily conceived) sail here in the same boat, that all alike are illustrations of an illusory object-lust that never will be satisfied; but that while science and morality have this advantage that they are also an education in disillusionment through the experience of futility and failure, religion as a soaring into the trans-empirical void lacks a corresponding corrective in experience.

---

[1] *Cf.* " The Future of an Illusion " by S. Freud.

Mysticism is in no way better situated in this respect than ordinary religion. What is a matter of faith for ordinary religion and justified by faith alone is for the mystic a matter of immediate vision, an object of mystical realisation in a supra-rational experience of the unitive life. Thus what ordinary religion is unable to defend except on grounds of a faith not translatable into experience, mysticism claims as a matter of immediate realisation in the personal experience of the mystic. The fact must not be overlooked however that mystics very rarely agree amongst themselves as regards the content of their mystical experiences. If the mystical content were an over-individual objective filling of the individual life as the mystics claim it to be, it would hardly admit of that wide diversity and variety which characterise the mystics' descriptions of their respective experiences The widely divergent and sometimes conflicting accounts of mystical deliverances thus create a just suspicion of a subjective touch in mystical realisation which therefore cannot be taken as an unmediated revelation of an objective content. We conclude then that mysticism is in no way better off than ordinary religion and that common piety and mystical realisation are alike illustrations of a self-fostered illusion which thrives for want of an empirical corrective.

Some remarks on Bergson's view of a dynamic religion as distinguished from static will not be out of place in this connection. Static religion, according to Bergson, is the creative life-impulse arrested in its onward march; it is the life-impulse confined within the specialised type of a particular society. It is thus the religion of closed societies, the circular movement of the life-impulse round about a fixed form. It is repetitive rather than creative, a stabilising force that conserves the realised form through myth-made tribal deities. As ditinguished from this static religion which aims at the preservation of a fixed type, dynamic religion appears as unrestricted creative life-impulse, *i.e.* as transcendence of all fixed forms and types. Thus while static religion is tribal and confined to a closed society, dynamic religion is universal and embraces the whole of humanity. Dynamic religion is the creative life-impulse focussing itself as the intuition of the religious mystic.

All this, we hold, does not touch the essentials of the problem of spiritual life. Neither static religion as a force of conservation nor dynamic religion as a power of creation offer anything but an objective fulfilment and the question which Bergson neither tackles nor solves is whether an objectified fruition can ever satisfy the autonomous subject. Dynamic religion may be of value as installing spirit into the very heart of the objective progression, but it does not cure the soul's unrest nor bring the wished-for peace and spiritual self-rest. Bergson's own view of dynamic religion as intuition of unceasing creative impulse is an indirect avowal of its spiritual bankruptcy as endless creativity that knows no rest nor satisfaction. We hold, then, that a dynamic religion as the intuition of a self-objectifying life-impulse is as far from being an effective healer of the troubled spirit as is ordinary religion with its illusory divine guarantor of the ultimate triumph of our object-longings.

Art, we hold, stands higher in this respect than both mystical and ordinary religion. Art is the spirit contemplating its own objectification with detachment. It is not mere intuition as individualised expression of inner tumult, as Croce says ; it is also the unruffled and so far the disinterested and detached contemplation of the objectified self-expression. This is true both of art as creation and art as appreciation, both being at once the objectification of the spirit and its detached, and so far free, contemplation and enjoyment. Art is an advance on the logical consciousness in this respect, being conscious freedom from the obsession of a limiting reality. The object which to logic is part of a reality that circumscribes and limits is to art a logically neutral object that is matter only for contemplation and enjoyment. Art is thus the subject's emancipation from a reality that engrosses and so far restricts the free spirit.

Art however represents only the first stage of spiritual emancipation from the objective thraldom. What is only negatively foreshadowed in the intellectual and the practical life as an inherently futile object-seeking is first of all adumbrated in art as the positive freedom of spiritual detachment, *i.e.*, as the unruffled contemplation of the self-objectivity. Art is thus both self-objectification and its transcendence at the same time, enjoyed objectivity as well as conscious self-freeing as the witnessing of the enjoyed self-objectivity.[1] The absence of reality-consciousness is only a reflex of this witnessing consciousness: as detached witnessing art is also freedom from the reality of the enjoyed objectivity. A higher level of spiritual freedom is reached when the disappearance of the reality-consciousness goes with the appearance of an unreality-consciousness in its place. Here the spirit contemplates its objectification not as a neutral objectivity but as unreal appearance. This is the penultimate stage of Vedantic intuition, the realisation of spirit as the unrealisation of the objective, spirit's self-affirmation as the eternal negation of the objective unreality. This however falls short of the complete subjectivity of *svarūpāvasthiti*, the pure self-rest of spirit, for it entails at least a negative relation to the falsified objective appearance. The highest stage is thus that of *asamprajñatasamādhi*, of pure self-centred subjectivity wherein the negative relation to the object vanishes as a mere semblance of a relation. This is the Brahmahood of the spirit (corresponding to the Ātmasākṣātkāra of Sāṅkhya), the rest of the spirit in itself which is free even from a negative relation to the non-spirit.

In the above we have elaborated the Yoga and the Vedanta view of the self-realisation of spirit as the spirit's self-finding as the unobjective light that illuminates all objectivity. We have thereby rejected the western conception of the spiritual life as the spirit's self-concretion and objectification. It may however be urged against our view that it reduces the objective movement of the spirit as a purposeless self-deceiving that explains away instead of explaining the positive values of life. We confess to the force of the objection, but we contend that it is the very nature of the spirit as the self-certifying absolute which amuses itself as it were in this perpetual undoing of its own doing. We may call it *līlā* or sport but it is the sport of the absolute as spirit which philosophy can neither make nor unmake but simply recognise and analyse. Elsewhere[2] we have defined religion as "an experience of recovered unity with reality after one of estrangement or alienation" and our definition aimed at a sufficiently comprehensive concept that will embrace all religions instead of applying only to any particular type of it. We claim that Vedantic self-realisation is religion in our sense, being spirit's unity with reality through the cancellation of an illusory objectivity.

---

[1] The distinction may be illustrated by the case of the jaundiced man seeing yellow. One may see yellow without knowing that the internal jaundice is the cause of the seeing. One may again see yellow and at the same time realise that the internal disorder is the cause of the seeing. In the latter case, the seeing is also a seeing through and so far self-freeing from the object seen.

[2] *Cf.* writer's paper on "Religion and Magic, etc.: " Calcutta Universtiy Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXVII.

We have described the general trend of western thought as objectivistic and have endeavoured to substantiate our contention by reference to important western philosophers. We may qualify our statement however by one reservation. We hold that Kant is an exception to the general run of western thinkers in this respect. He appears to us to be the only western philosopher who has not surrendered to the objective obsession. With a sure intuition which is almost oriental,Kant repudiates the objectivity of the spirit both as intelligence and will. That the intellect objectifies without being itself objective, that the spirit knows without being a known content is the conclusion he arrives at as the result of his critical enquiry into the theoretical consciousness. The same view he reaffirms in the second Critique in his concept of the moral will as a will that wills itself. Criticisms of Kantian ethics show a perverse misunderstanding of Kant's real views in this respect. Kant's pure will is the subject affirming its self-autonomy as the denial of the sensuous objectivity. Hence the moral life is an unceasing struggle against the life of inclinations: it is the spirit realising itself as the subject emptied of all objective determination, an unceasing self-emancipation from the heteronomous objectivity. The Kantian ethics thus show a truer hold on the essentials of the spiritual life than do the Hegelian reconstructions of it on objective lines. The flaw in the Kantian view is not in the concept of a moral will that wills itself, but in that of spirit realising itself as will. Even this however is hardly a just criticism of Kant as the objection is forestalled by Kant himself in the conception of the moral consciousness as law-revealing rather than law-making. It is in the self-alienated empirical subject that the pure spirit is an imperative to be accomplished: the realisation is the empirical subject's deobjectification in time, the casting off of its objective vestments that the spirit in its purity may declare itself.

LIFE OF CAPTAIN KALYAN KUMAR MUKHERJI.

J. M. SEN.

Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

AT a meeting of the Senate of the Universiiy of Calcutta, held on the 26th September, 1936, the Vice-Chancellor placed a letter from Mrs. Biva Mukherji offering a sum of Rs. 23,000 (twenty-three thousand rupees) for the creation of an endowment in memory of her husband, Captain Kalyan Kumar Mukherji, for the award of a scholarship to be called the "Kalyan Kumar Mukherji Research Scholarship" for the promotion of medical research on the following terms:—

(*i*) The scholarship may be awarded on any of the following subjects:—

(*a*) nutritional subjects;

(*b*) chemical and pharmaceutical studies of drugs obtained from indigenous plants;

(*c*) specific problems (*e.g.*, epidemic dropsy, cholera, etc.), of importance to public health.

This list may be added to by the University from time to time.

(*ii*) Only graduates of Calcutta University will be eligible for the scholarship. Such graduates need not necessarily be holders of the degree of Bachelor of Medicine.

(*iii*) The scholarship will be tenable for one year but may be renewed at the discretion of the University.

(*iv*) The scholarship will be tenable either at the University College of Science or any institute or laboratory in or outside India as may be decided by the University at the time of making the award.

(*v*) The following rules will be gererally observed for selecting the scholar:—

(*a*) The University will issue advertisements inviting applications for the scholarship and fix the date within which such applications should be sent to the University.

(*b*) The applicant shall state in his application his academic qualifications ; his previous research experience, if any ; the specific problems he proposes to investigate ; the institute or laboratory where he proposes to work ; and any other detailed information which the University may ask for.

(*c*) The applications shall be considered by a Selection Committee consisting of the following members:

The Vice-Chancellor, *Chairman* ;

The President of the Post-Graduate Council in Science ;

Two Professors belonging to the University College of Science to be selected by the Syndicate whose advice may be helpful ;

One member belonging to the Faculty of Medicine to be nominated by the Syndicate ;

Another expert to be nominated by the Syndicate; and

One nominee or derived nominee of the Founder.

(*vi*) The Committee will interview the candidates, if necessary, and make its recommendation to the Syndicate. The Committee will satisfy itself that the selected scholar will have adequate facilities for carrying on his work at the institute or laboratory selected by him.

(*vii*) The selection will be finally made by the Syndicate.

(*viii*) The University may sanction a non-recurring research grant for the scholar not exceeding Rs. 750 per year.

(*ix*) The continuance of the scholarship will depend on satisfactory reports being received by the Syndicate from time to time from the authorities of the institute or laboratory where the scholar will work.

(*x*) One of the duties of the scholar will be to publish the results of his investigations within a reasonable time.

(*xi*) The Syndicate may frame supplementary rules from time to time for the proper management of the fund.

(*xii*) The names of all Kalyan Kumar Mukherji Research Scholars together with the names of the institutions where they carried their research work shall be published in the Annual Calendar of the University.

Moving that the offer be accepted with thanks, the Vice-Chancellor said that the University had been doing its bit towards the advancement of research in various branches of arts and science and the time hand come when some arrangement should be made for the promotion of medical research as well. The scope was vast and the money at their disposal limited, but a beginning could be made and he had no doubt that they all appreciated the spirit in which the offer had been made. There was no doubt that Mrs. Biva Mukherji and other patriotic sons and daughters of Bengal who might come forward in the future to help the cause of advancement of researches in this particular branch of knowledge deserved their grateful thanks.

Captain Mukherji was the first Bengali to win the Military cross during the Great War of 1914-1919, and the following short sketch of his life will no doubt be interesting to the readers of the Calcutta Review.

Kalyan Kumar was born on the 24th October, 1882 ; he was a grandson of Rai Kailash Chandra Mukherji, Bahadur, and a relative of late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, the famous Barrister of Calcutta and first President of the Indian National Congress. Kalyan Kumar lost his father, Mr. Kshetra Mohan Mukherji, a Deputy Magistrate, when he was only eleven years old. After finishing his school education he joined the City College and passed the First Arts Examination of the University of Calcutta. Thereafter he secured admission into the Medical College, Calcutta, and creditably passed the L. M. S. (Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery) Examination in 1905. He then wanted to go to England for higher studies ; but as this required money he started earning as a Ship Doctor and for two years he toured in different parts of the world in that capacity. This enabled him to save enough money for a three-years' stay in England from the beginning of 1907. He obtained the L.R.C.P. & M.R.C.S. of Edinburgh in 1907 and the D.P.H. of Cambridge in 1908. In January 1910 he sat for the competitive examination for entrance into the Indian Medical Service and came out successful. In 1911, he returned to India as Lt. Kalyan Kumar Mukherji and was posted at Kohat in the North West Frontier Province. He was promoted to the rank of a Captain in February 1913, and in December of the same year he sought a transfer to the Civil Department and became a Deputy Sanitary Commissioner in Bengal.

In January 1914, he married Miss Biva Narayan, a daughter of Kumar Gajendra Narayan, a cousin of the late Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup Bahadur of Cooch Behar. Kumar Gajendra Narayan married a daughter of Brahmanand Keshub Chander Sen ; and Miss Biva Narayan was the Kumar's second daughter. The married life of Kalyan Kumar was exceedingly happy. But when the Great-War broke out the Army Service recalled him. He again became an Army doctor in October 1914 and was stationed at Rawalpindi with the 8th Rajput Regiment. From Rawalpindi he went to Peshawar and from there he went to Mesopotamia in March 1935 as an officer of the Field Ambulance. At various battle-fields he displayed great bravery in helping the wounded under heavy shell fire and he himself was once wounded in his left arm. He was twice mentioned in the despatches sent by the General to the War Office in London. In 1915 he won the Military Cross for distinguished service in Mesopotamia. Before him no other Bengali Officer won this coveted distinction

The sieze of Kutel-Amara commenced on the 5th December 1915. The Ambulance and hospitals which were outside the town moved inside and Captain Kalyan Kumar not only kept up his spirit but cheered everybody to keep up their spirits. Very few commanders experienced greater difficulties than that experienced by General Townshend in this siege. Every kind of trial, every kind of obstacle, was to be met with in that accursed country Mesopotamia during the Great War. Conquered by famine General Townshend and his gallant band of fighters had to submit and constitute themselves prisoners of war. They surrendered to Turks on the 29th April, 1916, and Captain Kalyan Kumar Mukherji became a prisoner with General Townshend.

While he was undergoing all kinds of privations he received from Calcutta, in June 1916, the sad news of the death of his only child, a daughter. The Turkish Government moved the prisoners to Nissibin in 1917. Near about that place typhus broke out and even a Turkish doctor in charge of a camp (at Arada) got the disease. The Turks appointed Captain Mukherji as doctor in charge of the camp in February 1917. From early March he had fever and he evidently caught the infection there. Captain Madan Lal Puri (now Colonel Puri) I.M.S., a friend of Captain Mukherji went there and brought him to Djurjub by train on the 9th March 1917, for treatment in a good tent. Kalyan Kumar got delirious on the 13th, and inspite of the best efforts of his attendants and friends he got broncho-pneumonia on the top of his typhus fever. He breathed his last at 12-05 A.M. on the 18th March 1917. His loss was mourned by all men and officers in the camp and his funeral was attended by two thousand persons including local people. His last rites were performed with all possible honour and respect that could be shown under conditions of war. He was buried at Djurjub, off Ras-el-ain, a small town in Turkey.

Captain Mukherji had laid down his life for his king and country and every Bengali would honour his name for all time to come. The fruits of the endowment created by Mrs. Biva Mukherji for promotion of medical research will not only keep alive the memory of Captain Mukherji but will also help in alleviating human sufferings.

WAR OR PEACE IN THE FAR EAST ?

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS

Author of "Foreign Policy in the Far East" etc.

I

WAR clouds are gathering on the horizons of the Far East and various danger zones of Europe. In the Far East, Japanese forces are concentrating their strength in Manchukuo to meet any eventuality in Mongolia and Siberia, where Soviet Russian war preparations against any possible Japanese attack are going on with full speed for the past few years. For strategic reasons and for the control of vast resources of North China with its markets, Japanese Military authorities are seemingly determined to create a new buffer state, consisting of five provinces of North China. To carry out this programme, they are ready, if necessary, to use force against the Chinese Government. At the same time a considerable portion of the Imperial Japanese Navy has been concentrated in South China to force the hands of the Central Government of China, on the various issues of all forms of anti-Japanese agitation (including murder of Japanese subjects and destruction of their property) and furtherance of Sino-Japanese co-operation which will force China to follow a foreign policy agreeable to Japan and which might seriously limit the scope of freedom of action of the Chinese Government. Let me say that the Japanese Government has no moral right to impose its will on China ; but solution of international problems are not generally made by an application of ethical principles ; on the contrary force plays the most important part. Any of these issues may lead to Russo-Japanese or Sino-Japanese war, which may eventually lead to a world war.

In Europe the situation is no less gloomy. In the Mediterranean, the existing strained relations between Italy and Great Britain and the possible developments from the Spanish Civil War may lead to a general European war. In Central Europe, German determination to recover her lost territories in East Prussia, to make Austria and

German-speaking section of Czechoslavia as part of a Greater Germany, and also her policy of territorial expansion at the expense of Soviet Russia is threatening the peace of Europe. In this menacing atmosphere what is the prospect of world peace ? The future depends largly upon the developments in world politics ; and therefore none can play the role of a prophet. The most one can do is to make an attempt to analyse the forces governing the policies of great powers and make a forecast which may be completely upset with the newest and unforeseen happenings in international relations.

II

Great Britain with her world-wide empire plays possibly the most important part in shaping currents of world politics ; and therefore it will not be out of place to give some consideration to British world policies of to-day. The fundamental principle governing international relations of Great Britain is to adopt such measures as will help maintaining the dominating position of the British empire and its interests in all parts of the world. To achieve this end, British statesmen on different occasions adopt different measures. For instance, at the opening of the twentieth century, when British interests were menaced by Russian expansion, Britain entered into a pact with Japan—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—to curb Russian power through Japanese help. But after the Russo-Japanese war, Great Britain's main concern was to make herself safe from German fear ; and to achieve this end, Sir Edward Grey concentrated his efforts to win over Japan, France and Russia on her side and did not hesitate to sacrifice Chinese interests.[1]

After the crushing defeat of Germany in the world war, Britain was faced with three formidable rivals—France in Europe, Japan in Asia and the United States of America. Although the United States is the greatest rival of Britain in the fields of world commerce, finance as well as naval power, the British Government found it to be absolutely necessary to adopt a policy of so-called Anglo-American co-operation to induce the United States not to build a navy stronger than that of Britain and to use American support to strengthen

---

[1] John Gilbert Reid : *The Manchu Abdication and the Powers, 1908-1912.* Berkeley (Cal.). University of California Press. 1936.

British position in world politics and finance. Great Britain achieved this end during the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, which was, with consummate skill, manipulated by Balfour so that " Secretary Hughes could seem brilliantly to achieve the arrangements devised at the London Imperial Conference the summer before." [1]

After making sure of American support, Britain, inspite of Japanese desire for the continuance of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, dropped it and pursued a policy of weakening Japan and her possible isolation in world politics. At the same time Britain succeeded in checking French naval power by favouring Italy in the Washington Conference by which Italy was allowed to possess a fleet equal to that of France. Great Britain followed a policy of using the machinery of the League of Nations to check aggressive policy of any power which might directly or indirectly threaten British interests. On the whole the British Government, after the world war, pursued a pro-German policy, because Britain was afraid of strong French position in the Continent. Furthermore, Great Britain was anxious to prevent any Russo-German rapprochement or a Franco-German-Russian understanding which might have been used against British Interests. In short Britain was anxious to remain on good terms with Germany, so that she might be used against France or Soviet Russia in case of necessity.

III

Japan's defiance of the League of Nations and the conquest of Manchuria and the establishment of the " puppet state of Manchukuo," inspite of vigorous American opposition, created a new situation, in the Pacific. Furthermore Japanese expansion in various countries where British commerce used to be supreme, increased Anglo-Japanese rivalry. British statesman feel the necessity of curbing Japan through the aid of other powers ; and the programme of radical Chinese nationalist leaders to fight Japan, after isolating her by an Anglo-American-Chinese-Russian Alliance, was not unwelcome to many British statesmen. In fact many British labour leaders, liberals and even conservatives believe in forming an Anglo-American military alliance against Japan. They argue in the following way:—

---

[1] Edwin A. Faik : *Togo and the Rise of Japanese Sea Power.* New York. Longmans, Green and Co, 1936, pp. 447-448.

> "If there were closer relations between the two nations (Great Britain and the United States), if there were an understanding, Britain would not come empty-handed into the association. Indeed, it is obvious that she would contribute something of the highest value to the United States, an understanding to protect the Atlantic seaboard of your country with her fleet. If America could concentrate her whole navy in the Pacific with the knowledge that her front doors were barred and bolted by battle-ships flying the British flag, that would be a matter of great comfort to the American people in a moment of stress. And Britain has the resources, the ships and naval stations to confer this benifit." [1]

Many Americans believe in forming an Anglo-American-Russian-Chinese alliance against Japan ; and the Japanese leaders are not unaware of this fact. Therefore they have taken steps to increase Japan's naval strength to such an extent that in case of necessity, the fleet of the empire of the Rising Sun will be able to hold its own in the Pacific against any combination of fleets. Japan has also adopted measures to strengthen her naval defensive power in the south, by creating a new squadron with its headquarters in Formosa. She may even increase fortifications after the expiration of the Washington and London treaties. These are Japan's answers to Britain's powerful Singapore naval base and a supposed Anglo-Dutch naval pact. Japan is alert in taking steps in offsetting American naval activities in Alaskan waters, Allution islands and other strategic centres in the Pacific. She has adopted the bold policy of creating a buffer state in North China, so that Sino-Russian military co-operation against Japan will become an impossibility. It is also generally believed that some form of German-Japanese understanding against Soviet Russia has been at least considered, so that Soviet Russia may have to meet an attack by Germany, while fighting Japan in the Pacific.

To avoid complete isolation in world politics, Japanese statesmen have pursued a policy of strengthening the existing Franco-Japanese entente so that France will not actively participate in any combination of powers against Japan. Japanese statesmen are anxious so settle all outstanding problems between Soviet Russia and their country, through negotiations and establish closer relations assuring Russo-Japanese friendship. While Soviet Russian leaders urge Japan to sign a non-aggression pact, Japanese statesmen demand that before signing any such treaty all disputes which might result in a Russo-Japanese conflict be settled through negotiations and Russia should cease war preparation in the Pacific. At the same time Japanese statesmen are anxious to settle all outstanding questions with the United States and sign a general arbitration treaty. But so far this effort has not been very successful, because American statesmen are still clinging to Secretary Stimson's "non-recognition" policy. The Japanese are not unwilling to receive some form of understanding with Great Britain which might be beneficial to both nations, assuring that Japan will not join any combination of powers unfriendly to Britain, while Britain would not make common cause with any other power against Japan. Above all this must be remembered that Japan will not retreat from her position of enforcing Asiatic Monroe Doctrine which will make Japanese influence supreme in the Far East. Japanese statesmen regard it to be a necessity for her national security.[1]

---

[1] Lord Beaverbrook : *A Military Alliance with England.* Bublished in the American Mercury (New York), August, 1936.

IV

During recent years, with the rise of military power, especially air-power of Germany, British statesmen have become conscious of insecurity of the British Isles. This was expressed eloquently by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Baldwin when he made the famous statement to the effect that British frontiers were on the Rhine. Since then Sir Austin Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare and others have shown their anxiety for British national defence. Even the British Labour Party, in its recent convention, has approved the vastre-armament programme of the British Government to meet the threatening situation in Europe. Hon. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his recent speech before the Conservative Party Convention, has made it clear that British re-arming programme, specially the augmenting of British air force, is not merely to protect British Isles, but it would be used against the power which may attack a neighbour unprovoked. This might be regarded as a warning to Herr Hitler to the effect that Britain would come to the defence of Belgium and France in case Germany attacks them.

---

[1] Roy Hidemichi Akagi : *Japan's Foreign Relations, 1542-1936.* Tokiyo. The Hokuseido Press. 1936.

It is certain that although the British Government is not in favour of communism, yet it thinks Soviet Russia, with its present moderate foreign policy so far as Britain is concerned and the existing Russo-Japanese tension and German-Russian rivalry, is in no position to hurt British interests in Asia. For this reason the British Government has agreed to extend a large credit of $50,000,000 to aid Anglo-Russian commercial relations which is bound to promote Anglo-Russian understanding politically. Furthermore, it seems that the British and Soviet Russian Governments have come to some kind of understanding so that Russia would, with British approval, undertake building powerful naval forces both in the Pacific and the Baltic to counter-act effectively Japanese and German naval strength. Anglo-Russian relations are tending towards an entente.

V

Since the Italo-Abyssinian war when Italy under the guidance of Signor Mussolini, dared to defy the British fleet in the Mediterranean and indicated that Egypt might be menaced by Italian air and land forces, humiliated and infuriated Britain, to protect her vital imperial interests, has been roused to maintain her position in the Mediterranean. Supremacy in the Mediterranean is essential for the maintenance of the British Empire.

" The Mediterranean is the key to the defence of the British Empire, an empire whose axis begins in the Canadian northwest and runs southwest to Australia by the way of Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, Aden, Colombo and Singapore—naval bases, all. Nowhere save the Mediterranean could the line be cut by a European or Asiatic state ; nowhere else along it are narrow sea flanked by other naval powers. It is for this reason that the bases guarding this part of the line—Gibraltar, Malta and Suez—have always been recognised as the most vital in the empire. Gibraltar and Suez enable Great Britain to control both gateways to this sea....So important to Great Britain is undisputed naval supremacy in the Mediterranean that she long maintained her fleet in those waters upon what is called a " two-power standard "—a force equal to the combined strength of the two largest navies in that sea." [1]

---

[1] Sutherland Denlinger and Charles B. Grey, Lt. Commander, U. S. N. R. : *War in the Pacific* : New York, Robert McBride, 1936, p. 331.

It was due to lack of Anglo-French co-operation in the Mediterranean, that Italy dared to defy British sea-power in the Mediterranean. The French did not wish to antagonise Italy, when Great Britain was not whole-heartedly supporting France against German re-armament programme and re-militarization of the demilitarised Rhineland. It is evident that this Anglo-French distrust has resulted in disadvantage of these two great democracies of Europe and has benifited Germany and Italy. But the recent active support extended to the Spanish rebels by Italy and Germany which have designs of establishing naval bases at the Beliaric Islands and Canary Islands, which will threaten British and French vital interests very seriously, seems to have convinced British and French statesmen of the necessity of Anglo-French co-operation in the Mediterranean and other parts of the world. There are indications of revival of Anglo-French entente.

Inspite of much talk that Italy may destroy the British fleet in the Mediterranean, the fact remains that Britain with her superior navy and resources would be able to crush Mussolini as she did Napoleon.

> " Britain's superior fleet and her air forces divided between Gibraltar and the Near East (Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine), Britain would have continued to dominate the Mediterranean passage through which Italy must receive that without which she cannot live, let alone fight a war—coal, oil, iron ore, cotton, copper and other essential commodities." [1]

Neither Great Britain nor France wishes to crush Italy. They are interested in Italian co-operation, if that can be arranged without sacrificing their vital interests. There is every reason to think that Italy will eventually be forced to change her policy of opposition to Great Britain and seek support of Anglo-French-American bloc of powers. for economic reasons. In fact, with all talks of a German-Italian alliance, it seems that Germany has nothing to offer Italy ; on the contrary, German and Italian interests in the Balkans, Austria and Hungary are opposed to each other. " Austria (in that matter Herr Hitler's Greater Germany) still cherishes the hope of regaining at any price the German ports of Southern Tyrol, as far, that is to say as the Salurno Pass." [2] Just as during the World War Italy left the

---

[1] *Ibid*, p. 332.

[2] Prof. Ewald Banse ; *Germany prepares for War.* New York. Harcourt Brace and Co. 1934, p. 287.

Triple Alliance and joined the Triple Entente group of powers for a *specific price*, similarly Signor Mussolini may not be unwilling to stand by France against Germany, provided Italy receives the price of co-operation.

But British statesmen are not content with the present situation in the Mediterranean and are feverishly working to improve it by augmenting naval and air power in that region. Furthermore, they are seeking allies against a hostile Italy. This is evident from the fact that the British King Edward VIII, during his recent supposed vacation trip went to Yugo-Slavia,where he met many statesmen of this country which is decidedly opposed to Italy. He visited Mostapha Kemal Ata-Turk, the President of Turkey, and also the King of Greece. Some Italian statesmen are inclined to think that a form of defensive alliance among Yugo-Slavia, Turkey, Greece and Great Britain is in existence. It is also presumed that it may not be difficult to induce Soviet Russian Black Sea fleet to co-operate with those of the British, in case Italy joins Germany in an alliance.

Concentration of a large section of the British fleet near Gibraltar and other Spanish ports on the mission of protecting British lives and property in the civil-war torn Spain, signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance by which the Egyptians have agreed to the increase of British air and naval forces in the area adjoining the Suez Canal and other strategic positions, sending of a large British expeditionary force in Palestine to crush Arab rebellion and to protect the Jews in Palestine, are primarily to strengthen British military and naval position at the gateways of the Mediterranean. British statesmen are becoming increasingly conscious that it is vital for the British Empire to utilise Indian man-power, resources and stratagic position, for the maintenance of British interests in Asia, Africa, Europe and even far-off Australia. It is interesting to note that the British Government is anxious to win over the moderate Indian nationalists by inaugurating the new constitution for a Federal India without unnecessary delay.

VI

Owing to the menacing conditions affecting British national security in the North Sea and the Mediterranean and also because of the disturbing conditions of Franco-German relations and Russo-German tension, Great Britain must concentrate her forces, in case of an emergency, in Europe—in the North Sea, in the Mediterranean and at its entrances. However it is quite clear that Britain cannot use her full strength in Europe, unless she is reasonably sure that a first-class and formidable naval power like Japan would not attack British interests in the Pacific, while the latter may be engaged in a conflict in Europe. Therefore it is imperative for Britain to conciliate Japan through some form of Anglo-Japanese rapprochement or the revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Japan, as we have already noted, is not unwilling to have an Anglo-Japanese understanding, because such a pact will reduce the fear of any possibility of an Anglo-American-Russian-Chinese combination against Japan. Furthermore, if Anglo-French co-operation is to develop fully in Europe, in spite of the existence of a Franco-Japanese entente in the Pacific, it is necessary that French diplomacy should use its full power to bring about an Anglo-Japanese understanding. Moreover it is vital for France, which depends for its security in Europe very largely upon Soviet Russian support and also depends upon Japan for her security in the Pacific, that these two powers (Russia and Japan) become friends and do not waste their strength in a struggle which will benefit France's enemy—Germany—and weeken her two friends (Russia and Japan).

VII

Regarding the possible future development of Russo-Japanese relations, it should be carefully noted that inspite of much talk by uninformed and enthusiastic friends of Russia about the war strength of Soviet Russia in Siberia, it is the considered opinion of a United States Naval expert that it will not be difficult for Japan to take Vladivostock, northern part of Sakhalien Islands and also cut off Russian land communications and inflict severe loss to Russian land forces in Siberia.

> "The flying bombers that now rest there (Vladivostock) in concealed numbers can arch the Sea of Japan and inflict destructive raids upon the congested industrial centres ; and this adds one more element of fearsome uncertainty to life in the volcanic archipelago. The submarines, mostly of German fabrication, secretly shipped overland in sections, can sneak down the Golden Horn and menace Japanese commerce. But neither jointly nor separately can these overhead and undersea fleets perpetrate any damage of decisive gravity or thwart the Imperial Navy's delivery of the

Army on the mainland, where the Commissars will have to engage its full strength at the end of their railway, just as the Grand Dukes were obliged to do in 1904-1905. This single avenue of communication, although double-tracked, is more vulnerable today than it was in that campaign because of the threat from the sky...As it is Russia, unable to challenge or even annoy Japanese control of the sea, holds her strip of the Pacific coast line only at Japan's sufferance. Whenever Japan is ready to pay the price in money and lives of another war against Russia, she can seize Vladivostock. The aerial raiders might in surprise raids burn Tokyo and Osaka, and submarines might pick off a few detached warships, troopships and merchantmen, but ultimate victory could not be withheld from the ruler of the adjacent waters." [1]

Under such circumstances Soviet Russia cannot expect to hold her own against a combined attack by Japan and Germany. If such an eventuality occurs and Great Britain refuses to use her fleet against Japan and the American Government decides not to meddle in a Russo-Japanese conflict and France finds herself incapable of holding Russia in the Pacific, then a Russo-Japanese conflict may be seriously harmful to Russia as was the case in 1904-1905. It will also afford an opportunity for German expansion in Europe at the cost of Russia.

In this connection, it may be noted that although the British Government is willing to extend its support to France and Belgium against a German attack, it seems that it may not actively oppose Germany in case of a Russo-German war. This is evident from the fact that the British Government does not want Russia to participate in a conference for Western Locarno, although Great Britain would not use pressure upon France and ask her to give up her alliance with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia, not being sure of British attitude, in case of a Russo-Japanese war or a German-Russian war or a simultaneous attack by Japan and Germany, for the protection of her very existence may be forced to come to an understanding with Japan, by recognising Japan's special position in the Far East. In fact there are indications that Soviet Russia and Japan may come to some understanding on fishery questions, leasing of oil-lands in the Sakhalien, etc. Such an understanding which will make a Russo-Japanese war a remote possibility will minimise the possibility of a war in Europe ; because Soviet Russia with a friendly understanding with Japan, will be in a position to concentrate her forces in Europe while France and her allies supported by Great Britain may check German expansionist programme in Central Europe.

---

[1] Falk : Togo and the Rise of Japanese Sea-Power, pp. 445-446.

VIII

The prime motive behind Herr Hitler's foreign policy has been to secure support of Britain, Italy and Japan against Soviet Russia and France and her allies. So far Germany has not been able to win British support against France. There is no reason to believe that Italy would support Germany, if she can make a satisfactory deal with France and Great Britain. Japan admires German efficiency; but Japanese statesmen know that Germany has no special love for Japan. All they want is to bring about a Russo-Japanese conflict which will be an asset to Germany in Europe or a Sino-Japanese conflict in which case Germany will be able to further her interests in China. If Japan can come to an understanding with Russia, it is expected that Japanese statesmen would prefer a Russo-Japanese understanding to a German-Japanese understanding.

If the British Government decides to support a German programme of weakening of Russia and France, then the net result will be strengthening of a Germany with 100,000,000 people in the heart of Europe. Such a greater Germany will dominate Europe and become Britain's greatest rival. It will also mean that with the defeat of Russia, Japan will become much stronger in the Pacific than she is to-day. This will menace Britain in Asia. Weakening of France and Russia will inevitably increase Italian power in the Mediterranean; this may become a serious disadvantage to Britain. Under the circumstances, it becomes clear that British foreign policy is bound to be Anglo-French entente supported by the United States and if possible cordial understanding with Japan and benevolent attitude towards Russia. Japan would welcome such a development, because it would pave the way for an understanding with Russia as well as the United States. An Anglo-French-Russian-Japanese-American understanding will be a tremendous factor in world peace. It will force Germany and Italy to fall in line with the powerful bloc. It would mean that China will have to come to an understanding with Japan by which the former will be compelled to pursue a policy which will be to Japan's interest and prevent China from intriguing with any western power against Japan.

Many experts on Far Eastern affairs in the United States would suggest that expansion of Japanese influence in China and other parts of the Far East would drive American interests outside of Asia. However " it is not entirely in accord with actual experience to assume that where Japanese control extends in Asia the market for our (American) goods is restricted." [1]

It is the opinion of many well-informed Americans that there is no reason for an American-Japanese conflict, provided we Americans do not continue to interfere with Japanese programme of expansion in Asia, which is vital for her. In an American-Japanese conflict, the United States will ultimately be the victor ; but it will be of no benefit to the contestants, while Great Britain, Russia and Germany may reap economic and political profit at the cost of United States and Japan. Those who are interested in furthering the cause of peace in the Pacific should carefully consider the following advice of far-sighted American naval experts :—

> " Let us concern ourselves no more with Japan in Manchuria than Japan concerned herself with us in, for example, Panama. Let us leave Japan alone in Asia as she will leave us alone in the Americas. Let us (most radical of all thoughts) mind our own business." [2]

There is not the least doubt that the Japanese Government is determined to settle all questions involving Sino-Japanese disputes, even if it may mean a war. Japan knows well that neither Great Britain nor the United States will risk their navies now in attacking Japan in the China Sea. Soviet Russia cannot and will not go to war with Japan just to aid China, because if she becomes involved in a war with Japan, then Germany may attack her in Europe. However these very powers which may not be able to aid China in a conflict with Japan might encourage China to resist Japanese demands and fight Japan. It is however very doubtful that China will be able to defeat Japan single-handed. A Sino-Japanese war will hurt Japan and China and destroy all possibilities of mutual understanding between these two neighbours and Asiatic Powers. In a real Sino-Japanese understanding and friendship lies the real salvation of China and security of both

---

[1] Albert E. Hindmarsh : Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy. Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. 218-231.

[2] Denlinger and Gray ; War in the Pacific, p. 338.

China and Japan and durable peace in the Pacific. It is to be hoped that the Japanese Government would be able to assure China, through adoption of moderate attitude, so that the Governments headed by Mr. Hirota and Marshall Chiang Kai Shek will be able to accomplish what many people think to be impossible—settlement of the present Sino-Japanese dispute without a war and by cementing Sino-Japanese friendship—for their own good and for the furtherance of the cause of the world peace.

INDIA'S CONNECTION WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., PH.D.

THE Covenant of the League of Nations was made an integral part of the Treaty of Peace which was signed at Versailles after the conclusion of the Great War This was done on the insistence of the late President Woodrow Wilson. He was convinced that this intimate connection between the League and the Treaty would be of benefit to both. The League would be an excellent and potent instrument for settling some of the complicated problems that might arise out of the Treaty. On the other hand there would be greater chance of its acceptance by the different states of the world if it were made part and parcel of the Treaty. Accordingly at a Plenary Meeting of the members of the Peace Conference, a League of Nations Commission was set up and it was entrusted with the duty of both settling the principles which would underlie this organisation and actually drafting the Covenant. Of this Commission Wilson himself was the chairman and it consisted of two representatives of each of the Great Powers and one representative each of five small powers. The Covenant thus drafted and ratified by the Conference became the first chapter of the Treaty of Peace.

India had taken not an insignificant part in the great struggle and made considerable sacrifice in the allied cause. So although she was not a sovereign state and not even a self-governing Dominion, she was invited at the instance of Great Britain to participate in the Versailles Conference. Two delegates were chosen on behalf of her people in the person of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and the late Lord Sinha. They represented this country in the Conference, not as a dependency of Great Britain but as a separate and distinct entity. None of them were members of the League of Nations Commission and had consequently no hand in the creation of the League and the drafting of its Covenant. But they put their signatures to the Treaty of Versailles and thereby associated their country with the League. So although the League is really an association of self-governing countries, India, without being fully autonomous and self-governing, became still a member of this body by virtue of her membership of the Versailles Conference. In fact she has been on the League only as an original member. In case she now secedes from this organisation, she cannot be associated with it again until her political status is recognised by the world as fully autonomous.

The connection thus established between India and the League has never been prized by her people. It has in fact been unpopular from the start. It was unfortunate that just at the time that the League was constituted and India was first associated with it, this country was in the throes of a great nationalist upheaval. Every institution with which the British were intimately connected was then suspect in the eyes of the Indian people. The League was no exception to this rule. Secondly as pointed out in the previous paragraph, India was included in the Versailles Conference and was subsequently associated on that score with the League only at the instance of Great Britain. This had a deleterious effect on the public mind in this country. It was forgotten that the accession of India to the Peace Conference redounded considerably to her national prestige and her membership of the League augmented her national status. It was only taken for granted that not for the benefit of India but for some imperialistic design and some deep ulterior object of Great Britain that His Majesty's Government had thought it necessary to bring India into the League.

The prejudice thus created at the start was not only not removed with the march of time but gradually thickened in the mind of the people of this country. Several causes combined to bring about this effect. For the first ten years of the League's life there was no organisation of any sort in India, which could disseminate among the intellectual classes proper information as to the great experiment at Geneva. If the League early opened an office in India and gave through it the necessary publicity regarding its position, aims and ideals and actual activities in different branches, much of the prejudice which had been formed against it might have possibly been sloughed off. Secondly, the League was asked to undertake no work in India which might appeal to public imagination. A loan was raised for Austria and the post-war reconstruction of that state was undertaken under the auspices of the League. To China it sent out a committee to investigate into its educational organisation and offer expert advice on the subject to its authorities. If similar spectacular work could be done by the League for this country, it would have acquired some prestige in the eyes of the Indian people. The League was again settling in its own way the problem of minorities in some of the states of Europe. If the communal problem of India were referred to the League and if it were actually settled according to its enunciated principles, the attitude of the people of India would have considerably changed towards Geneva. Their confidence in the League would have been inspired and their attachment to it would have been strengthened. It is not in human nature to become really attached to an organisation which keeps us, for one reason or another, in the cold shade of neglect. Even then possibly the Indian people would have looked with admiring eyes towards Geneva if the League really succeeded in the mission for which it was mainly established. If it could enforce peace and afford 'territorial integrity to great and small states alike,' it would have certainly done a signal service to the cause of civilisation and as such it would have gained the confidence of the Indian public as well. The people here would have thought it worth while to remain associated with an organisation which had such success to its credit, although it might not have been of any direct and immediate use to themselves. But such success was not forthcoming. The League failed to protect weak states from the cupidity of imperialistic powers and its prestige in consequence reached the lowest ebb in Europe itself. It could not therefore be expected that it would attain popularity in India.

But although there are ample reasons why the League of Nations should not strike the imagination of our people, still it is rather very difficult to account for the crusade which has been declared against it by a section of the public. Of late attempts have been made to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of India in order that it might notify its determination to withdraw from the League. In the last Simla session of the Council of State a long discussion took place on the subject and the trend of the speeches made on its floor was generally to this effect. Whenever again the subject comes in for discussion in the columns of the newspapers and periodicals, the writers almost invariably demand the withdrawal of India from the League. The chief argument with which the demand is supported is that the League has failed in its mission. It is true no doubt that in the Greco-Italian dispute it failed to stop the bombardment of Corfu and the occupation of that island by the Italian forces, that in the Sino-Japanese dispute over Manchuria it failed to stop the forcible occupation of that province by the Japanese troops, and that in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute it failed to maintain the integrity of Abyssinia. In the last case the failure has been the most glaring and the most complete. That is not because that Italy flouted on this occasion the authority of the League more than Japan did with regard to Manchuria and more than Italy herself did when she bombarded Corfu. This is really because of the fact that on this occasion the resources of the League were for the first time mobilised against the declared aggressor and this mobilisation proved to be ineffective and abortive.

The failures of the League cited above are abject no doubt. But they have not adversely affected the interests of India. There is therefore no special reason why she should be so angry as to threaten secession from the League. If this country is really very anxious to maintain the world-peace and protect the interests of the weak states, that noble purpose cannot certainly be served by withdrawal from the only organisation which has made some efforts in this direction and has built up a machinery on that score. The League may not be in a position now to make war impossible or to protect in all cases the interests of the small and weak states. But it may see to it before hostilities actually break out between one power and another that the dispute between the two is discussed threadbare and the declaration of war is delayed as long as possible. By these processes of delay and discussion it may even succeed sometimes in solving the disputes amicably. The more there are instances of such success the greater the benefit to civilisation. If the League is dissolved to-day as a result of the secession of the state-members, there will be no competent organisation left in the world for discussing disputes and delaying the outbreak of hostilities. Surely the Indian public does not want to be a party to such vandalism.

The second argument which supports the demand for India's withdrawal from the League is more plausible but not certainly more sound. It is pointed out that the League with all its limitations may have still its utility in the present-day world, but for a poor country like India it is not worth while contributing a large sum every year in return for the doubtful services which it may render not directly to India but to the world. The amount of India's annual contribution to the League is about fourteen hundred thousand rupees. This is not an insignificant sum and India can ill afford to throw it away for nothing. But still there appears to be some want of proportion in the vehemence with which our contribution to the League has been attacked. When it is known that even the expenditure on account of the bands of the Governor-General and Governors will not fall far short of this sum in the new regime, it need not be thought that finances of India will crash and the Indian peasant will suddenly become bankrupt only on account of this contribution to the League. Of course every attempt must be made for securing the due return for the money, thus spent. And it may be asserted that if the Government of India is only alert and vigilant, this return may be easily available to us.

The Indian nation is only in the making. Its development to full maturity may be facilitated to a considerable extent by the sympathy of other nations. At present, prejudice against the Indians and their civilisation prevails to a surprising degree in many countries whose good will it is our interest to cultivate. Only feeble attempts have so far been made to eradicate this prejudice. Geneva is now the chief international centre. Not only during the session of the Assembly delegates from different countries of the world congregate in this city but throughout the year representatives of different nations throng this place in one capacity or another. It should also be noted that these delegates and agents usually represent the enlightenment and culture of their respective countries in an eminent degree. If a number of enlightened Indians are sent out to the League as India's representatives, they will have ample opportunity, both on public platforms and in private parties and personal conversations, to make an impression upon their minds. Even if only a few foreigners are in this way impressed by the capacity and public spirit of Indian agents, that will be no small gain to this country. Through them the good opinion which they have formed about India and Indians will filter to the enlightened society of their own countries. People of foreign states are apt to be prejudiced against a country about whose people they very often hear strange stories. If, however, their representatives at Geneva in whose judgment they have confidence become impressed by Indian capacity, their prejudice may receive a check and they may become less prone than before to turn ready ears to every tale about our worthlessness and knavery.

Secondly it should be always borne in mind that no nation can truly grow unless its members are increasingly trained in different aspects of public business. In a country where the number of such trained men is large, its public opinion becomes enlightened and its public administration becomes honest and efficient. One of the objections to the continuance of the British element in the Superior Civil Services of India is that such continuance deprives many Indians of requisite training in responsible public work. In Geneva there is considerable opportunity for Indians to pick up training in public service in diverse capacities. As a member of the League India may send delegates to the League Assembly and these delegates may participate both in the deliberations of the plenary session as well as in the proceedings of the Commissions. Secondly, India may be elected a member of the League Council and if it is so elected, its representative on this body will have the most excellent opportunity, which otherwise is not vouchsafed to us, of acquiring first-hand knowledge of high politics of the world. Thirdly, Indians may be employed in the League Secretariat as salaried servants of the League. The work which these employees are required to perform is usually of a responsible character. If some Indians are engagad in this work, the higher powers of their mind will easily and speedily be brought out. Besides the atmosphere in the Geneva Secretariat has a liberalising influence of its own. The very fact that the Indian employees will be thrown into contact with the employees of different other nationalities and will constantly hear of great problems being discussed and great affairs being talked about will open their eyes and ears as they can never be opened in any centre in India. Lastly, the Indian Government may establish a permanent legation in Geneva to keep in touch with the League Secretariat. The officer in charge of this legation and the members of his staff will live in the Geneva atmosphere, will study international problems at first hand and will become usefully trained Indian citizens.

India has been associated with the League for the last sixteen years. It may be pointed out that during this long period the training which the League has vouchsafed to us has been quite negligible and there is no knowing that the scope of such training will widen in the future. In the following paragraphs, this question will be studied in some detail. It may only be pointed out here that if India has not gained much in this field by its long connection with the League, for that the Government of India and the Indian people are largely to blame. The Indian people ought to have brought pressure to bear upon the Government of India and the Government of India in their turn ought to have brought pressure, whenever necessary, to bear upon the League authorities. Unfortunately the Indian people in their blind prejudice against the League of Nations have uniformly been indifferent to the benefit which may be derived from this organisation. The Government of India also have reciprocated this indifference and have paid little attention to this question.

The deliberative organ of the League is the Assembly. It meets normally once a year though on two occasions it met a second time for a special purpose. The Assembly cannot be said to exercise supreme control over the League organisation. Nor is its influence very considerable at present over international affairs. All the same, the Assembly is still an important body. The discussions made on its floor in the plenary session are not without their effect upon the trend of affairs in the world. In the six committees of the Assembly again more detailed discussions are made on international problems and social and economic questions. Now all the state-members, great and small, have the same status in the Assembly. Each of them is entitled to one vote and may send not more than three delegates. As the number of delegates has been fixed at the low figure of three, the arrangement of sending out substitute delegates has been resorted to. In the absence of a member of the main delegation a substitute delegate may enjoy all the privileges and rights of a delegate. No limit has been fixed to the number of such substitutes. There are states who take advantage of this opportunity and send out in all forty to fifty delegates, substitute delegates and experts every year to the Assembly. This way they derive two advantages. The subjects which come in for discussion in the Assembly are numerous and intricate, and the delegates of a country cannot certainly study them thoroughly and do them full justice unless they are numerous in number and are assisted by a body of experts. Secondly if the number of delegates and experts of a country is large, it becomes possible for them in private conversations to emphasise their viewpoints and bring about decisions in their favour.

Let us now look at the number and character of delegates whom the Government of India sent out in different years to the League Assembly. The highest number of delegates including of course substitute delegates and experts, that has ever been sent in any one year since 1920 is only six. Some eminent Indian names of course occur in the lists of delegates of different years and certainly some of the Indian gentlemen who visited Geneva as delegates of the Government of India and had opportunity of studying international affairs at first hand and exchanging opinions and views with the public men of other countries became better fitted than before for responsible work in India. But the number of Indians who had opportunity of visiting Geneva as delegates and of profiting by experience acquired in this capacity has been so far very small. Not only the delegation of the Government of India has been always very small in comparison with the delegations that are sent out by other countries but even in these small delegations non-Indians have been invariably included. True, the Europeans so included may have been at one time associated with our administration and acquired some knowledge of our needs and aspirations. But that should not certainly entitle them to represent India in a centre where of all places she should pass as a separate and distinct national entity and not as a dependency of Great Britain. If again it has been strange that to the exclusion of Indians, Europeans have been chosen as members of the delegations of the Government of India, it must have been stranger still that from 1920 to 1928 these delegations were invariably led by Europeans. It was not thought right to entrust the leadership of the delegation to any Indian public man. This short-sighted policy was for the first time abandoned in 1929 when Sir Muhammad Habibullah was appointed the leader of the Indian delegation. In 1920 and 1921 Sir William Meyer who had retired from the Finance Membership of the Government of India and was then High Commissioner for India in London was selected to be the chief of the delegation to Geneva. In 1922 Lord Chelmsford who had been some time back the Governor-General of India was chosen to lead our delegates. In 1923 and 1924 another ex-Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, performed this responsible duty. In 1925 Lord Willingdon who had just completed his two terms of Governorship in India and had not yet been appointed Governor-General of Canada utilised this gap in his long career of proconsulship by leading the Indian delegation. In 1926, Sir William Vincent, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, was chosen to lead the delegates and in the two following years this important duty was entrusted to Lord Lytton, who had been Governor of Bengal

It may be pointed out that as these Europeans have experience of Indian administration and as they can travel at a small expense from

London to Geneva, it is not unwise to choose them as India's delegates. In fact to save the travelling and other incidental expenses on account of the delegation has become a mania with the Government of India. In order to curtail these expenses they have not only chosen Europeans and Indians residing in Great Britain or in the continent but sometimes they are even reported to have chosen persons in India who offered to travel at their own expense. India contributes every year to the League about fourteen lakhs of rupees and if the Government spend another one lakh for the travelling and incidental expenses of the delegates to the Assembly and the International Labour Conference, this country may derive considerable return from the League. But instead, a pennywise pound-foolish policy is being followed. For the last few years expenses on account of the delegation to the Assembly have been reduced to almost nothing. In 1932-33 they were Rs. 3,641, in 1933-34 Rs. 2,320, in 1934-35 Rs. 630 and in 1935-36 Rs. 3,034.

It should be brought home to the Government of India that by retrenchment in this field they are not really serving the interests of this country. This policy is only making India's association with the League ineffective and India's large annual contribution to it of no value to her people. It may be admitted that European gentlemen chosen from time to time as India's delegates may make one or two brilliant and effective speeches on behalf of this country. But the training they receive, the outlook they develop and the contact they succeed in making at Geneva with the nationals of other countries are of no benefit to India. Besides, as already hinted, the choice of Europeans as India's delegates makes an impression on the mind of the representatives of other countries, which is not complimentary to Indians at all. It is high time that the practice of choosing some plausible men from London as India's delegates is discontinued. At least seven Indians should be chosen every year as delegates and their substitutes. Such delegation, if sent from India, is not likely to cost the Indian exchequer more than twenty-five thousand rupees. This sum is not a very large one and is certain to bring an ample return.

As it has been pointed out already, the Assembly is not the most important organ of the League. From the very start the Council was marked out as its principal organ. It is to-day the centre of the League machinery. It is not only a mediatory body for the settlement of international disputes but it is also the principal administrative body of the League. "It supervises the appointments of the Secretariat. It appoints many of the special Committees or allots their representation among the states. It receives their reports and decides what action shall be taken on them. It prepares the Agenda of the Assembly. It is responsible for the delicate and all-important Minorities questions for which it has set up special procedure." It need not be emphasised that a country which has no seat on the Council cannot have much influence on the policy of the League and the activities it undertakes. If India is to derive full benefit from her connection with the League, she must secure a seat on this body. The Council now consists of thirteen members of whom four are permanent and nine non-permanent. The four permanent members are Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia. Germany and Japan will also be entitled to permanent seats in the Council if they revert to the League. Among the states which had at one time or another a non-permanent seat in the Council are Canada, Australia, Irish Free State, Chile, Spain, Panama, Finland, Peru, and Guatemala. China and Persia have also received this honour.

Now if the states mentioned above could have a non-permanent seat in the League Council, India certainly cannot be debarred from it on any reasonable ground. In population, in the extent of territory, and in the amount of contribution to the League funds, India is considerably in advance of all these states except China. Of the total of about 1,000 units of contributions to the League, Great Britain pays 105 units, and this contribution is the highest India now contributes 55 units. Now let us see what units the states which have been mentioned above and which have been favoured with non-permanent seats in the Council happen to contribute. They are as follows:

Spain	40
Canada	35
Australia	27
Irish Free State	10
Finland	10
Peru	5
Panama	1
Guatemala	1

Now the states which contribute only one unit, not to speak of the states which contribute more, have been favoured with a seat in the Council. But India has been left so far in the cold shade of neglect. For this neglect two explanations are possible. The Government of India and its delegates to the Assembly have never shown any interest in India's election to the Council. Among the British Dominions the Irish Free State first became eager for a seat in the Council and showed earnestness to secure this object. Canada also made efforts and won the trophy first among such Dominions in 1927. Australia and the Irish Free State achieved success later. The other states like Panama or Chile which became members of the Council must have also made due efforts to secure the honour. But during the last sixteen years India never stood as a candidate for such membership and her delegates never once pressed for it. Indifference so stolid as this can be expected to meet with only one reward—neglect. It may be pointed out of course that the Government of India never made any effort for membership of the Council, as they were almost certain that other state-members would not welcome this candidature. India was politically still a dependency of Great Britain. She had been allowed to be associated with the League more out of courtesy than out of legitimate right. But as she had once been allowed to enter the League, she might continue as such and contribute to the League funds a substantial sum every year. But she must not aspire to the membership of the Council. For it was certain that in this capacity she would only strengthen the hands of Great Britain at the Council Board.

Now it has not been tested as to how far this view about the the attitude of other states towards India's candidature for a non-permament seat in the council is correct. Even if other states were originally of opinion that India would play only second fiddle to Great Britain, Indian delegates to the Assembly, if well chosen, could have changed this opinion by taking definitely an independent line of action in the Assembly. If other countries were convinced that the representatives of the Government of India did not constitute a mere subordinate branch of the British delegation but had an independent policy to follow and independent views to press, they were not likely to persist in their opposition to India's candidature for a non-permanent seat in the Council. The Government of India in fact ought to have done everything possible to help in disarming this opposition and eradicating this prejudice of other state-members. But instead they continued to make such a choice of their annual delegation to the Assembly as to create a definite impression that this body was really an adjunct of the British delegation. In the face of an impression thus allowed to be fostered, it was out of the question that India would have the cheek to advertise her candidature for a seat in the Council. It is no doubt true that since 1929 the leadership of the delegation has been vested in an Indian. In case this policy is maintained and strengthened and in case the delegation, wisely chosen and competently led, is encouraged to act independently, the prejudice already created by the pusillanimity of past years may yet be lived down and India may win the respect of other nations and acquire sufficient prestige at the League.

There is one subject about which the Government of India and their delegates to the Assembly should henceforward be more serious and up and doing than they have been hitherto. They must bring to bear all their influence upon the League authorities so that a sufficient number of Indians may be appointed to the offices in the League Secretariat. They must see to it also that Indians are recruited not merely to minor offices, but are chosen for some of the responsible posts as well. At present so far as we know there are only four Indians employed in Geneva, two in the International Labour Office and two in the League Secretariat. One of the latter is employed only in a junior post and has little to do with work that may call for initiative. The other three are in comparatively responsible offices no doubt but they certainly do not occupy any of the key positions in the Secretariat. The most responsible offices in the League Secretariat are those of the Secretary-General, two Deputy-Secretary-Generals, three Under-Secretary-Generals and the Directors and chiefs of the fourteen Sections among which the duties of the Secretariat are distributed. They might really be called the key positions but in none of them has an Indian been ever employed. The highest office which has so far been filled by an Indian at Geneva is that of the member of a section. So Indians have neither been appointed in sufficient number nor has any one of them been given a truely important position in the Secretariat of the League. This is a state of things to which India cannot certainly be reconciled.

Now the League appointments might have been made either on the sole basis of the merits and qualifications of the candidates irrespective of the countries of which they were nationals or on the basis of the contributions made by the different state-members to the League. If the first principle was followed, India would not certainly have opposed it at all. She would have stood entirely on the merits of those of her children who came forward as candidates for the League offices. There are many Indians now available who would hold their own in any competition with the nationals of other countries for the most responsible offices in the League Secretariat. If again the second principle was followed and strictly observed in all cases, India would not have found fault with it either. She would have easily and without demur conceded greater number of appointments to Great Britain and France but would have at the same time claimed the share which her position in the list of contributors made due to her.

Unfortunately none of the principles enunciated above have been followed in recruiting the officers of the League. What has taken place is only a scramble for the League offices. Those Governments which have been the most alert have secured the greater number of offices. Recruitment on the basis of nationality has been followed in certain cases. But from this it is not to be understood that all the nations which are associated with the League have profited by this arrangement. This is to be understood only in the sense that the Great Powers and some of the so-called secondary states have divided the spoils among themselves. No doubt they have been jealous of each other and have not allowed any one of themselves to have the lion's share in every way. They have not however so quarrelled with one another as to provide an opportunity for other and less alert nations. Early they came to an arrangement with one another with regard to the offices which should go to their respective nationals. Thus when an Englishman was appointed as the Secretary-General to the League, a Frenchman was appointed the Deputy-Secretary-General and another French national was given the office of the Director of the International Labour Office. Later on again when there was a change in the latter post and an Englishman was appointed to it, the French Government pressed by way of compensation for the recruitment of a Frenchman for the office of the Secretary-General to the League, which was now falling vacant. Accordingly M. Avenol was appointed to the most important and responsible office of the Secretary-General. As an arrangement, advantageous to Great Britain and France, was thus being arrived at, Italy became restive and sulky. But one of the posts of Under-Secretary-General and a number of comparatively minor offices were found for her nationals and she was appeased. In 1926 when Germany entered the League, a number of German officials had also to be appointed.

The following facts culled from a publication of 1935 will show how the Great Powers and one or two small or secondary states which the Great Powers would like to conciliate have divided among themselves the most important offices in the League Secretariat. The Secretary-General is a Frenchman, of the two Deputy-Secretary-Generals one is a Spaniard and the other is an Italian, and of the two Under-Secretary-Generals one is a Britisher and the other a Russian. As regards the Directors of different sections and the members of these sections and as regards the officers with minor duties and responsibilities, it is very difficult for an outsider to give correct information as to their nationality. The details are available, it is understood, in the report of the Fourth Committee of the League Assembly. But strange to say while the reports of all other committees are usually available to the public, this one is a sealed book. It is withheld from them and one copy only is supplied to different Governments. The Government of India may, it is hoped, place this report on the table of the Legislative Assembly. But although absolutely correct figures cannot be given, it is understood that Italy has as many as thirty offices in the Secretariat allotted to her nationals. I am singling out Italy only because of the fact that her contributions are almost the same as the contributions of India, and in fairness the two countries should have the same number of their nationals appointed to offices in the League Secretariat. But actually while Italy has secured about thirty offices including that of the Deputy-Secretary-General, India has secured only four. The contrast is certainly striking.

It is time that the Government of India take up this question of India's representation in the League Secretariat in earnest. Their delegates to the League Assembly should have definite instruction every year to raise the subject in the plenary sessions of the Assembly, in the meetings of the Committees and in private conversations. In this connection as well as on wider grounds, it may be advisable for the Government of India to establish a permanent Legation in Geneva.

The presence of a liaision officer at the headquarters of the League will be of considerable utility to the Government. Some of the states of Europe including Czecho-Slovakia have such legations in Geneva and India may with profit imitate their example. The establishment of a legation will administer at once a tone of seriousness to the association of India with the League, and will help much in changing the attitude of other countries towards the position of India in this organisation. It will help this country in winning a seat in the Council and securing her due share in the offices of the Secretariat. Much of course will depend upon the gentleman chosen as the liaision officer. But if the Government of India mean business, no drone at least will be pitchforked in this responsible office.[1]

Any way it mainly depends now on the Government of India whether the people of this country should continue to be hostile to our connection with the League or whether they should learn to regard this connection as really honourable and helpful to us. Nor should the Indian people regard the League business as the business of the Government of India alone. They should regard it as their own and do everything constitutionally possible to derive proper benefit from our association with the League and due return for our large contribution to its funds.

---

[1] Since this article was in type, it has been known that Mr. C. C. Biswas who was a substitute delegate to the last League Assembly raised the question of India's representation in the Geneva Secretariat and made some impression. Our thanks are due to him.

At Home and Abroad

New King to visit India Next Winter.

Considerable interest is shown in King George's programme in the forthcoming year. There is much discussion as to what degree his Majesty would carry out the programme previously scheduled for King Edward. There are strong grounds for the hope that the King may visit India next winter in place of his brother. He will naturally be accompanied by the Queen.

It is hoped that besides holding Durbar at Delhi their Majesties may be able to tour India. Their Majesties' visit is likely to be invested with all the panoply of state tour by the King Emperor.

Martial Law in China.

The Government leaders met hurriedly to discuss the grave situation at Sian Fu. It is understood that the immediate cause of the mutiny was the order issued by Chiang Kai-shek transferring certain troops because they fraternised with the Communists. Chang Hsueh-Liang in a telegram proposes an alliance with the Soviet against Japan and urges the dissolution of the 'dictatorship.'

According to reports from Shanghai Chang Hsueh-Liang demands immediate military operations against Japan, the restoration of Manchuria and the recognition of Communism. The National Government is said to have replied asking for the immediate release of Chiang Kai-shek whereafter they will discuss the demands.

The Pan-American Conference.

Mr. Cordel Hull told the press that the Pan-American Conference would be asked to agree to the proposal providing for a conference for consultation and collaboration between the 21 American Republics in the event of a menace to peace in the American continent from any source either within or without. Mr. Hull believed that the proposal was the strongest guarantee for peace Americans ever had and afforded a valuable example to other countries.

Peace Pact signed.

A Pan-American Peace Pact has been signed by the nations represented on the Congress. It now awaits ratification by parliaments of the signatory countries. Article 1 provides that when the peace of the American Republics is menaced, all the South American Governments, who are signatories to the Briand-Kellogg Pact or the Conciliation Treaty of 1933, will be bound to consult those Republics with the object of promoting peaceful co-operation.

Article 2 provides that in the event of war between America and other nations the signatories to the Pact will be bound immediately to begin mutual consultation in order to clarify the obligations appertaining to the pacts mentioned above. In the event of a war outside menacing the peace of America the consultations will be widened to determine the method of permitting the American Republics to co-operate eventually, if they so desire, in action tending to safeguard peace on the American continent.

The American Governments declare that no nation has any right to intervene either directly or indirectly in the internal or external affairs of any other nation. Any violation of this article will lead to immediate consultations between the other nations with the aim of providing a pacific solution.

Britain's Debt to U.S.A.

The British Government is ready to reopen the discussion whenever circumstances warrant the hope of a satisfactory result. This is the purport of the reply to the note from the United States presenting a statement of the British debt and expressing willingness to discuss any proposals regarding payment of the debt.

Spain's Appeal.

The United Kingdom's 'profound disappointment that the Non-Intervention Agreement was not more fully observed' was expressed by Lord Cranborne at the League meeting to consider Spain's appeal. Lord Cranborne said that the forces of both parties in Spain were being augmented from foreign sources to a degree which had assumed alarming proportions. The British Government considered that the maintenance and strict enforcement of the policy of non-intervention must play an essential part in limiting and shortening the war.

Mediation not encouraged by Italy and Portugal.

It is officially announced that Italy has replied to the Anglo-French proposals of mediation in the Spanish civil war. It is believed that the reply is discouraging. It is stated that Germany has replied in identical terms.

Portugal's reply to the Anglo-French proposals of meditation in Spain was handed over to the British and French ambassadors at Lisbon. It is understood to be of a negative character.

Germany's Attitude.

The German reply to the Franco-British proposals for mediation in Spain which was handed over to the British and French ambassadors declares that Germany is ready to support all measures aiming at the restoration of peaceful conditions in Spain and prevention of the spread of the flames to other parts of Europe and if other Governments believe that they can make concrete proposals for mediation, Germany would be ready to co-operate in examining them. Germany regrets that other Governments have not supported her desire. Volunteers are going to Spain and Germany considers that the abandonment of either direct or indirect intervention must be handled as a single problem. Germany by her recognition of the National Government indicated that she saw no other factor in Spain who could claim to help the Spanish people in view of the brutalities of the other side and any understanding with this latter party would appear hardly conceivable.

Protection of Monuments and Works of Art in times of War and Civil Strife.

The idea put forward at the last League of Nations Assembly for the protection of historical and artistic monuments in time of war was carried a step further at a recent session of the Director's Committee of the International Museums Office. This Committee considered the problem of the protection of such monuments in connection with the present events in Spain. Professor de Visscher, of Louvain University, widely known as an authority on international law, gave an opinion on the legal situation, while the Secretariat of the International Museums Office, an agency of the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, submitted a report containing the results of previous studies on this subject.

In the particular case of Spain, the Committee learned that essential precautions had already been taken in several places in accordance with the measures recommended for the protection of national artistic and cultural property. The Directors' Committee expressed the hope that the Spanish authorities would continue to take all necessary steps for the preservation of objects bearing witness to the greatness of that country. It attached great importance to the help that may be obtained from public opinion in Spain itself and trusted that the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation would use its authority and moral influence to ensure that regard was paid to their recommendation.

Disarmament Bureau.

The Third Committee of the Assembly (Disarmament) was constituted by the seventeenth Assembly, and met for the first time since 1931, owing to the work on arms reduction which had been undertaken by the Conference during the intervening years.

After several meetings devoted to a general discussion of the present position of armaments in the world, and particularly the relation of this question to the existing political situation, the Assembly decided, on the recommendation of its Third Committee, to pursue and intensify the efforts made to reduce armaments and to convoke the Bureau of the Conference at the most opportune date. It requested the Council to communicate to the Governments of the countries represented on the Disarmament Conference the Minutes of its discussions. The President of the Council was authorised, after consulting his colleagues, to summon the Bureau of the Conference as soon as he was able to do so, and in any case before the end of 1936.

Dissemination of League Information.

The rapid contemporary development of the technical means of disseminating information and the desirability of developing a closer mutual understanding between nations, led the seventeenth Assembly to set on foot a plan whereby detailed suggestions would be made to the next Assembly in regard to the spread of information concerning the work of the League of Nations and of information to be utilised in the cause of peace.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Secretary-General were invited to study the question and make appropriate suggetions in this direction.

The Reform of the League.

The speeches in the Assembly of the League showed as wide variations of opinion on the reform of the League as did the previous notes sent in by a number of Governments. There were many proposals for strengthening the League's machinery to prevent war by stating explicitly that the votes of the Parties should not be counted in any measures decided upon under Articles 10 and 11 of the Covenant. The desire was also expressed by several States to find some means of using the facilities provided by Article 19 of the Covenant for discussing and recommending changes in the international *status quo*. Views on the obligation to sever all economic relations with and, if necessary, to take military action against, a breaker of the peace varied all the way from the proposal to strike out this obligation to suggestions for strengthening and clarifying it by interpreting or amending the Covenant or by separate treaties based on Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant. Behind this issue again was the question of whether the obligations of the Covenant should be reduced in the hope of attracting to the League States that had left it, or whether —as M. Litvinov put it—it was better to have a non-universal League with principles rather than a universal League without principles and safe for aggressors.

The Assembly decided to set up a Committee of twenty-eight members including all the fifteen members of the Council, to discuss and make proposals about all the various plans and suggestions submitted by Governments.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements of India and outside.]

Indian Science Congress

Lord Rutherford, it is understood, has accepted the offer to preside over the Joint Session of the Indian Science Congress Association with the British Association to be held in Calcutta in January, 1937, to celebrate the Jubilee of the former body.

Education in Burma

That an Education Act co-ordinating the whole educational system of the country was desirable, is one of the observations of the Burma Chamber of Commerce on the report of the Vernacular and Vocational Education Committee.

The Chamber, however, was doubtful whether a Board of Education would serve any useful purpose and whether in practice Ministers, other than the Education Minister, would have time to deal with educational matters. It was suggested that if such a Board were constituted, the Finance Minister should always be a member of it.

The Chamber approved of the Committee's recommendations for compulsory attendance after voluntary enrolment in elementary schools until general compulsory education becomes practicable. The Chamber also approved of the proposal to raise the entrance age of the University from 16 to 18.

Dr. Montessori's Visit to India abandoned

It is now definitely learnt that the proposed visit to India of Madame Montessori who was appointed reader by Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on her well-known system of education, has been practically abandoned.

The secretary of the Montessori Society in London states that it has not been possible to arrange for Dr. Montessori's visit to India and that her proposed course has to be indefinitely postponed.

The Calcutta Corporation too proposed to utilize her services in reorganising the system of training prevalent in primary schools of this city.

Lucknow University

The honorary degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on Sir J. P. Srivastava, Minister of Education, U. P., Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani (Editor, *The Leader* of Allahabad), ex-Ministers of Education, U. P., at the Convocation of the Lucknow University at which his Excellency the Governor presided.

Mr. Chintamani had intimated to the Vice-Chancellor his inability to accept the degree.

All-India Educational Conference

The 12th All-India Educational Conference will be held under the auspices of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations at Gwalior, under the presidentship of Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

The Conference will work through the following sections which will hold their sessions in groups and will present their conclusions before the general sessions :—(1) Childhood and home education, (2) Primary rural education, (3) Secondary education, (4) University education, (5) Adult education, (6) Vocational education, (7) Examinations, (8) Educational experiment, research and training of teachers, (9) Health and physical education, (10) Internationalism and peace, (11) Moral and religious education. The discussion in the general sessions will not only include the conclusions presented by the section meetings but will largely centre round the burning problems of modern educational adjustment.

EDUCATIONAL EXHIBITION.

An All-Gwalior state educational exhibition will be held in this connection. The exhibition committee solicit the co-operation of all interested in education in making the exhibition a success. It will be the endeavour of the committee to so organise the exhibition as to make it serve not only the teacher but also the non-teacher by demonstrating through the exhibits what modern educational outlook tends to be in an Indian State.

A New Use of Radio

The Soviet Institute of Research has recently taken up the question of the heating effect of Ultra-short radio waves specially in the working of wood to shorten the process and improve the quality of drying. The builders of radio transmitters were acquainted with the heating effect of these waves and has in fact, in order to avoid fire risks, restricted the choice of woods, for incorporation in such equipment such as aerial transformers, jigers and so on. The idea for drying purposes is quite novel and the arrangement incorporates an oscillator radiating at between 150,000 to 200,000 kilocycles. Plans for the construction of semi-industrial plants are being made by the central administration of the Soviet timber industry and it is expected that the plan will be in working order next year. This method of drying is being applied by the Skorokhod shoe factory of Leningrad for brick moulds used in the production of lasts and the institute of industrial construction is attempting to quickly dry out newly built houses also by the same method. As one could gather from the reports, the arrangement is quite simple. This work in the Soviet Russia will be watched with great deal of interest by electro-technicians.

P. N. GHOSH

Recreation for Children in Germany.

As early as the sixties in the last century, Garden Associations were established on the outskirts of large German towns, with the object of combining together all small garden proprietors. These associations took the name of "Schreber," the Leipzig doctor, who is known as the founder of the small garden enterprise. For a small annual rental, the authorities offered land on the borders of large cities everywhere throughout the country. This land is divided up into innumerable lots of various sizes, averaging about 500 sq. met. each, and gives a large number of German families an opportunity of seeking recreation during the week-end, cultivating a plot of ground themselves, and taking an active part in the production process. The Schreber associations have lately tried to acquire their ground by purchase, so that their members can be sure of retaining once for all the cultivated areas. Amidst these flourishing gardens, there are small places of recreation for the young. These were originally erected by the members of the Schreber association for their own children. The association set aside a place for this purpose on its own ground, built the necessary accommodation rooms, and supplied the furniture. Kitchens, washing-rooms, and places for laying down sprang into existence, and merry-go-rounds and switch-backs were either purchased or given as presents. A Punch-and-Judy show for rainy days was never forgotten, and of course there was a large sand-box for the children. A pump was also put up, and now the children could romp about to their heart's content. These day-homes for children owe their existence to the personal initiative of the Schreber members. They were built gradually by the gardeners in their leisure time, and were under the management of their associations.

A paid female Kindergarten teacher is the general superintendent, and she is helped in her work by several male and female assistants. In the kitchen there is the " cook," who prepares the milk or cocoa according to the children's taste, and brings them their midday meal. This is contained in large sealed cans, and brought from a community-kitchen by the milkman, free of charge. She and her assistants do the washing-up and are responsible for keeping the rooms clean.

The children turn up in large numbers about 8-30 A.M. They are met by a female assistant at a certain point in the suburbs, and taken back there in the evening between 5 and 6 P.M. The colony is under permanent medical supervision, and a sanitary officer is at all times available. The occupants of the home are mainly school-children, who in this way are able to spend their holidays to the benefit of their health. Some of them put on as much as eight pounds in weight in a fortnight.

The parents of the children only have to defray part of the costs. The Youth and National-Socialist Public Welfare Departments give a large number of scholarships for poor children and give large contributions to ensure that the children get the right food and are under expert supervision.

Education in the German Labour Service.

In many states attempts have been made to create a Labour Service. Bulgaria started, and the United States, Poland, Norway and others followed: none of these, however, can be compared in any way with the German Labour Service. The former were all attempts to combat unemployment and arose out of the difficulties of present-day life, but the German Labour Service was based on an ideal, and is quite differently constructed from those of other countries. In the first place, it was born of a burning desire to unite all the elements of the German people, to create a firm community which, according to national socialist ways of thinking, can alone guarantee the future of the German nation through good times and bad.

The future of the nation, it is considered, does not depend upon a solution of the home and foreign problems of the present time during the lifetime of the present generation. It is far more likely to depend upon whether the nation is capable of forming now a community determined to overcome class distinctions and misunderstanding, so that a basis may be given for the continued unity of the Reich. This means the complete setting aside of old conditions under which the people lived in their separate classes, conditions and confessions, without being sufficiently aware of the common fate of the whole nation, and one of the most important corner-stones of the whole structure is the new Labour Service. Work performed by all in common is to be the source from which the nation may continuously draw for reinforcement. The German Labour Service is, therefore, faced with the educational task of imparting to those who enter it the national socialist *weltanschauung*. The aim of this state political education is to see to it that those essentials which led Germany back to freedom may never again be lost.

This brief outline will be sufficient to show that these great aims and objects are not to be achieved by means of schoolroom methods. This education has, indeed, nothing to do with intellect and with examinations: it is intended to form character, and it is to character that it makes its appeal. It must not be forgotten that in the Labour Service, probably for the first time, all classes are brought together under exactly the same conditions and are given the same work to do. The task of imparting to all these various types the national socialist outlook would almost certainly be beyond the powers of the average school-master. A leader is needed to do this. Furthermore, the Labour Service seeks to bring people up to work for the community and not to think only of an individual self. The result is: they develop a great spirit of comradeship, while materially they produce fruitful fields and gardens on acres of hitherto barren soil.

Part of the Labour Service time is spent in listening to state-political lectures and instruction. The young workman is shown what his service of honour means to the nation as a whole, and every endeavour is made to bring to his understanding a sense of what national socialism has brought not only to others, but to himself, who is now able to work in peace and honour. All that is being done is for the good of the state, which belongs to him, and for which he, too, carries responsibility.

In considering the subject of this state political education, it must also not be forgotten that in a community so utterly diversified the appeal made must yet be equal. In a single Labour Camp may be met young workmen who have never seen a newspaper and others who have studied the works of Henry Barbusse. There may be some who used a railway for the first time in their lives when they travelled to the camp, and others who have been all over the world. The leader, however, must make no distinctions, and must not employ methods that have not universal application. Maps, epidiascopes, books and songs are all means that help everyone.

Miscellany

BRITISH AGRICULTURAL POLICY SINCE 1931

The abandoning of free trade was an energetic attempt to remedy the adverse of trade which, in combination with the illiquidity of debtor countries, had forced England off the gold standard. It is true that the first protectionist legislation, the Horticultural Duties Act in 1931, dealt with farm commodities. But this was of minor importance because the Act covered mainly food luxuries. The Import Duties Act of 1932 imposed on all commodities—industrial and agricultural alike—a tariff of ten per cent. ad valorem. This was the definite farewell to free trade. But even then most of the important food products, particularly wheat, were excluded. Only after the Ottawa empire agreement later in 1932 were duties put on these commodities, assuring the empire states of preferential tariffs for their agricultural produce. It is a plausible view that the dominating interest of England at Ottawa lay in stimulating the demand for her industrial exports by offering to the dominions and the rest of the empire a preferential right on the market of the mother country. There is no autarchy ideology behind the Acts, nor even the thought of deliberately promoting the growth of the domestic output, as for example in Germany.

The corner-stone of Mr. Elliot's farm policy was the Agricultural Marketing Acts, one in 1931 and two in 1933. The conception of farm relief through marketing legislation is derived from the idea that the individual farmer who sells his products in the traditional manner loses a part of his fair share in the consumption price through a lack of organization in the supply and a lack of co-ordination in the quality, packing and timing of shipments. An adjustment of supply and demand by means of "marketing schemes" is intended to do away with conditions of surplus, cut-throat competition, undesirable disorderly competition between wholesale lots of standardized imported produce and primitive small lots of domestic produce, and internal competition in domestic produce itself.

For the marketing of a certain agricultural product a scheme may be submitted to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries by persons such as are substantially representative of those who produce the product in the area to which the scheme is applicable. These persons may represent only a minority of those concerned, since the quantity of the products to be marketed has to be considered. The term "marketing" covers, besides the actual sale, the grading, packing, storing, adapting for sale, insuring, advertising and transporting of the regulated product, and converting it into other commodities. The schemes may apply to all of Great Britain or to any part thereof. They are administered by a board which is elected by the registered producers and stands under the supervision of the minister. A scheme may provide for the determination of the quantity of the regulated product that may be sold by any registered producer. Moreover the marketing boards have statutory power to fix prices "below, at, or above" which a producer may sell the product, although they have no statutory power to fix the price at which a wholesale dealer sells to a retailer or a retailer to a consumer.

The Act of 1931 grants to producers the power of monopoly control over the sale of the whole product. It is up to the farmers whether or not they used this power. The Acts of 1933 bestow on the farmers additional powers to restrict production and to control imports by quota, provided that a marketing scheme exists for the particular commodity.

This legislation is a chapter in the history of English agriculture which may be titled "experiment in cartelizing agriculture." So far the experiment has had very unequal results. The scheme for hops is a real cartel exercising a complete control of production, sale and price. The very important milk scheme, on the other hand, is simply a price cartel which does not interfere with production, processing or sales. The potato scheme involves nothing more than a nominal restriction on new acreage by the imposition of a levy which is so low that it does not prevent expansion. The market supply is regulated by deciding the proportion of small potatoes which have to be kept on the farm, a method which was usual in the German seed-potato market. On the bacon market the scheme has established a formula price system and model contracts, but it does not control the supply.

For a comparative survey it is significant that the powers given the farmer are very wide, and that the board of producers can make regulations and force all the producers, including the dissenters, to comply with them. It is worth noting also that all the schemes in operation now were established in the rush of the drive up to 1933, and that since then no new scheme has been put into operation. Attempts to start schemes for beef and eggs have so far proved unsuccessful.

In June 1935 Major A. W. Street, who has been in charge of the marketing reorganization efforts of the government since their beginning, reviewed the entire system before the conference of agricultural organizers held at Cambridge. He stated that there has been three years' experience with organized marketing for hops, two years' for milk, pigs and bacon, and one year for potatoes. Answering some critics of the schemes, he stated: "Agriculture has, in fact, been singled out from industry,—singled out to receive the privilege of monopoly powers from the State such as have, as yet, been granted to no other industry, except the coal mining and herring industries. Farmers have already a complete monopoly of the milk supply—the most important single foodstuff in the country." He quoted Sir Robert Greig, the former head of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, as having written: "Every political party now agrees that the principle of the Marketing Acts in some form or other is part of a permanent policy. It is no longer conceivable that marketing will revert to the old time higgling, and that producers will continue to accept the axiom that any one can make money out of farming after the product leaves the farmer's hands. The Marketing Acts are the equipment for a great experiment in the possibility of farmers organizing their industry themselves with due regard to the interests of the consumers. If the experiment succeeds it may postpone indefinitely such drastic changes in the structure of agriculture as those which are taking place in Soviet Russia. If it fails, not less but more control will be inevitable." These views are cited not as the average opinion of the British public—which they certainly are not—but as a good indication of how those feel about the improvements attempted for agriculture who have been directly concerned with them.—Karl Brandt in *Social Research.*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE ECONOMICS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE

Social insurance is essentially a branch of insurance business. Fundamentally speaking, we have to deal with the problems of premia, funds and benefits. In other words, the question here is that of insurance companies, private or governmental, ordinary or privileged, managed by workingmen's trade unions or otherwise, voluntary or compulsory.

In the second place, social insurance is social as contrasted with individual. We encounter here the problems (1) as to who pay the premia for the insured and (2) as to how many persons are considered to be insured from the standpoint of the benefits in spite of the fact that the premium is paid by or rather for one insured.

Both these aspects of social insurance remain yet to be taken up seriously in India. First, the business aspect has too long escaped the attention of insurance companies. It has, besides, failed as yet to command the enthusiasm of workingmen's organizations and movements.

In regard to the second consideration, namely, the "social" aspect also, India has hardly yet risen to the very consciousness of the new wage-ideals involved in the payment of the premium by the employer and the state for the workingman or the employee. Nor can India still realize the new conceptions relating to the standard of living and efficiency, such as the enjoyment of benefits not only by the insured but by the insured's relatives also implies.

The countries such as have been used to social insurance legislation for some long time and in an extensive manner have naturally advanced far in the line of insurance companies. They are equally well-equipped with strong labour movements. On the other hand, the employers in these countries have got used to consider the prevalent wage-levels to be much too low for the employees and the premia as really "supplementary" wages. Besides, in these countries the wages earned by the individual workingmen are being keyed up to the levels high enough for "family maintenance" by means of benefits enjoyable not only by the insured but by the insured's family as well.

Society, constituted as it is today, comprises two classes of needy persons. First come those who are conventionally known by the vague category, the poor or the destitute. Secondly, come all the wage-earners and salaried men and women in diverse occupations, who still are held to be poor enough to need the supplementary earnings, such as are derived from social insurance.

Social insurance is thus but another agent, chronologically perhaps the last agent, in the campaign of mankind against eternal poverty. No economic, social or legal measure ought therefore to arrest the attention of Indian publicists and welfare workers more than that embodied in social insurance. It is just the instrument calculated to raise India to the level of the latest discovered equipment in regard to the war against proverty.

In regard to social insurance the primitiveness of Indian conditions is patent on the surface. In February, 1935, the Legislative Assembly accepted the verdict of the Royal Commission on Labour in India to the effect that she was not yet ripe for unemployment insurance. Invalidity insurance is not yet talked of. The Workingmen's Compensation, Act, 1923 was considerably amended in 1933, with liberal items, and embodies the provisions for workingmen against accident. And as for health insurance nothing is known except the Maternity Benefit Acts of the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces and Madras. A recommendation of the Royal Commission ran to the effect that in the event of any general scheme of social insurance being adopted, maternity benefits should be incorporated, and the cost shared by the state, the employer and the worker. But that recommendation has not yet been considered by the Legislature.[1]

On the other hand, as for the workingmen themselves, their attitude *vis-à-vis* social insurance, does not indicate any "ripeness" of mentality or organization either. The primitiveness of Indian labour force is perhaps nowhere more manifest than in the vagueness of ideas prevalent among the workingmen concerning their proper spheres of activity and propaganda, The very fact that Indian workingmen continue still to enthuse over omnibus resolutions of an all-sweeping character points inevitably to the fact that labour in India is yet in its nonage.

The fourteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Calcutta in April, 1935. Fifty unions affiliated to the Congress took part in the proceedings. Nobody was less aware than the delegates who attended the session that the organization of the workingmen was virtually at the lowest ebb. It was admitted that so far as one province, Bengal, was concerned, not more than 200,000 persons might be said to be organized and "that even rather loosely" in a working class population of 1,000,000.

And yet the Trade Union Congress interested itself in the ideas of "alliance with the peasantry," "contact with the youth movement," "alliance with Congress Socialist Party," "the future constitution of India," "the fundamental laws of national state," "the national constituent assembly," etc. In the atmosphere of ideologies the questions of strengthening the organization, raising the status of workingmen as workingmen, improving the conditions of labour, standard of living and efficiency, wage levels, etc., and the last but not the least, social insurance were left to find their modest place somewhere in a lengthy list of stereotyped resolutions.

The "basic principle" of the constitution of future India as formulated at the Cawnpore session was repeated at Calcutta as follows:—

(1) Transfer of all power to the oppressed and exploited masses.

(2) Abolition of Native States and parasitic landlordism.

(3) Freedom of peasantry from all exploitation and exaction so that the greater part of their surplus production remain in their hand.

(4) Nationalisation of land, public utilities, mineral resources, banks, and all other key industries in the country.

---

[1] *Third Report showing the action taken by the Central and Provincial Goverments on the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, Delhi, 1934, p. 82.

(5) Unconditional repudiation of all debts contracted by Government.

(6) Improvement of the condition of the industrial workers through the introduction of minimum wages, limited hours of work, insurance against unemployment, old age, sickness, maternity and social legislation for the general protection of labour.

(7) Control of the economic life of the country by the oppressed masses to guarantee that fruits of national freedom will not be usurped by the fortunate few.

(8) Abolition of indirect taxation and introduction of free compulsory primary education.

(9) Freedom of press, speech, association, expression and assembly.

(10) Abolition of all other charges on the peasantry except unitary tax.

In such resolutions one will easily notice the family likeness of those passed, for instance, in 1934 by the All-India Congress Socialist Party at the time of its formation. Indeed, many of these words and phrases might be found in the speeches and resolutions of the "political" leaders, namely, the Swarajists of the Indian National Congress.

One may take it, then, that both from the viewpoint of the Government as well as from that of the working classes the prospects of social insurance are not likely to be bright in the near future. This circumstance should not fail to establish automatically how far India happens to be chronologically behind the epoch of neo-capitalism or neo-socialism in the items of economic structure.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

CONTROVERSIES IN SOCIOLOGY

An adequate orientation to the existence of conflicting currents in the sociology of a general order is an urgent necessity for us in India, bent as we are on embarking upon practically new investigations. It should not be reasonable to ignore the other side of the shield while getting interested in an apparently most axiomatic dogma.

We can glean from Niceforo's *Antropologia delle Classi Povere*, that some of the postulates about the eugenic treatment of class and caste problem, which happen to be propagated from house-tops in the name of science, are not to be treated as uncontested truths. In the second place, the scare of alleged race degeneration through the mingling with the undeveloped races cannot be taken as established on sound scientific analysis. The problem of immigration likewise should not be appraised as having been solved in the United States of America and in the British Dominions in a rigidly scientific manner. The doctrines of untra-racialism as embodied in the Aryan cult, Gobineau's theory of race-inequality, the Teutonism of Chamberlain, and Nordicism, etc., have been challenged by Hankins in *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, as indeed they can be, with substantial arguments.

Attention may be drawn to the conflict of views in another field. Many writers have urged, says Rummey,[1] that biological causes are involved in differential fertility. But existing data do not warrant the final conclusions." It is well known, again, that the proportion of the Alpines has been increasing more rapidly in East and South Germany and throughout France rather than the other racial elements. The racial composition of Europe, as also of India, has been undergoing a transformation. Certain investigators are inclined to believe that such racial or national substitutions are bad. In Rumney's judgment such views come from persons having preference for a particular national or cultural tradition. But no objective criteria are to be found for arriving at a "hierarchy of races or cultures." Hence one should be prepared to leave open the questions about the desirability or undesirability of such differential reproductivity.

---

[1] "The Problem of Differential Fertility" (*Population*, London, November, 1935). See also "The Problems of Differential Fertility" in the present author's "Trend of Indian Birth Rates" (*Indian Journal of Economics*, August, 1934).

Sociologically one is not entitled to believe that economic considerations constitute the exclusive forces in the formation or transformation of castes. Social metabolism, as embodied in the structural changes of groups, *i.e.*, their horizontal movements from occupation to occupation or vertical trends up or down, has been "independently" engendered in India through the ages on account of innumerable political or dynastic revolutions. Then, again, the profession of arms, *i.e.*, military occupation which assures the survival of the most competent is by itself powerful enough to generate, even without economic considerations, these caste or race mobilities of all sorts. And finally law-making as the function of the state is another momentous agency in the transformation of social orders. It is law that abolished serfdom as well as the gild in Europe. It is likewise law that often made and unmade castes in ancient and medieval India and has been partially making and unmaking them in modern times. The caste problem of to-day must not therefore be left for solution to economic determinism alone.

In the sociology of values we have to submit very often to the verdict of factual history which demonstrates that races and castes may come and that races and castes may go but that civilization goes on for ever. The rôle of culture-contacts and race-mixtures in the making of social progress can never be over-stated.

The facts of "culture contact," hybridization, caste-uplifts in India, ancient, medieval and modern, find themselves in general agreement with the doctrines of the Italian sociologist, Pareto, in *Les Systèmes Socialistes* and *Trattato di Sociologia Generale*.

No society has ever existed without dominant classes, that is, "*élites*," says he. The distinction between the upper and the lower socio-economic orders furnishes the fundamental basis of all societal organizations. But the *élites*, according to Pareto, have a tendency to degenerate, decay and disappear. The dissolution of the upper classes is not only moral but physical as well. They are ultimately replaced by new dominant classes such as emerge out of the people. Sociologically, Pareto never detects the government of societies in a democratic manner. The course is from aristocracy to aristocracy. Only the aristocracies rise, have their day, cease to be and give place to new aristocracies.

In this doctrine of the "circulation of the *élites*" there is much that Indian history as the history of other countries can offer corroborative data. We need not, however, be hundred per cent. Paretians and admit that the *élites* of one generation or culture-stage are *entirely* replaced by those of the next. The emergence of new elements from the lower orders is a reality. These new elements have, because of military, political, economic, sexual and other circumstances, many chances of getting admitted into and fused or mixed up with the already existing dominant classes. A new " metabolism " is all the time in action giving rise to a new *Gestalt* (form-totality) in social relationship. It is the fusion and intermixture that enable the transition from generation to generation of *élites* to appear not as an abrupt breach with the past or a total replacement of the old social physiognomy by the new, but as a generally steady although often revolutionary process of societal transformation. Thus considered, the historical movements, the social mobilities and the dynamic processes ought really to be described as the continuous " democratizations " of world-culture through the rise of the lower and their absorption into the *élites* rather than as marches from aristocracy to aristocracy.

It is necessary also to beware of the " monistic " interpretations in social phenomena such as have given rise to powerful controversy.

The "religious interpretation " of culture as propagated by Fustel de Coulanges in *La Cité Antique* or by Max Weber in *Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religions-sociologie* is found to be too speculative and unsatisfactory by Sorokin (*Contemporary Sociological Theories*). Against the economic interpretation of history as established by Marx, Engels and Loria there are the arguments of Spann (*Der Wahre Staat*), Michels (*Croso di Sociologia Politica*), Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg (*The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*). Carr-Saunders (*The Population Problem*), Mazzarella (*Stuadi di Etnologic Giuridica*) and others. The exaggerations of geographical determinists like Buckle, Ratzel and Huntington have been exposed, among others, by Brunhes (*La Géographie Humaine*) and Vallaux (*Le Sol et l'Etat*).

Finally, among the many postulates that are being challanged is also to be mentioned the one (*cf.* Max Müller, Senart, Max Weber and others) which asserts that the culture created by the people of India is essentially speculative, pessimistic and mystical. Creative India's rôle in the evolution of social energism is being recognised more and more in the East and West.

A great fetish in the social thought of the contemporary world is furnished by the doctrine of internationalism. In spite of its tremendous popularity it has not succeeded in averting attacks from diverse quarters of sociology. We may single out the critical onslaughts on the cult of internationalism from the exponents of a new science, *Geopolitik*, grouped as they are round their leader Karl Haushofer In the symposistic book of essays, *Raumueberwindende Maechte* (Leipzig, 1934), edited by him one of the contributors, Wuest, observes that a world-view such as can actually transcend the limitations of space is impossible both as a concept and as a fact. The so-called " higher unit," which is alleged to be established by the break-up of a previous world-view of a different character through assimilation, absorption, transformation, etc., is very questionable and in the long run is liable to disruption. It is impossible to emancipate the world-view from its space-limitations. The attempts to establish artificial world-languages, *e.g.*, Esperanto, Ido, Novial, Nolapuek, have not been able to advance beyond their crude beginnings. Coudenove Kalergi's Pan-Europa movement is like theLeague of Nations' idea a stillborn phenomenon. The abolition of the Caliphate by Kemal Pasha is but the last item in an inevitable development, namely, the disappearance of an unnatural Pan-Islam. By enunciating the doctrine that every world-view is by nature nothing but national or territorial, although it can to a certain extent transform the space and even transcend it, Wuest has exposed the philosophical bankruptcy of internationalism as a cult. It is demonstrated by other writers that neither religion nor art, nor language, nor technocracy, nor economic development, nor colonialism, nor imperialism can in the last analysis lead to the genuine transcending of space or region. All the so-called international or internationalizing endeavours are essentially *raumgebunden* (space-limited and space-conditioned).

There is no mysticism or metaphysics in Haushofer's social philosophy. In the midst of all internationalizing ideologies his geopolitics teaches the world to remain awake to the one great reality of life, namely, that it is nothing but nationalism that rules mankind and that the eternal problem of to-day is, as our *Mahabharata* has taught for all ages, to study the science and art of *Macht, i.e., shakti* or power. In geopolitics the student of Hindu societal theories will thus come across such dicta of Somadeva's *Nitivakyamrita* as *na hi kulagata kasyapi bhumih* (nobody's territory is derived from his family) and *virabhogya vasundhara* (it is by the powerful that the earth can be enjoyed).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Present State of Gujarati Literature: being lectures delivered by Divan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., J. P.: published by the University of Bombay, 1930: pp. 114, xvi.

This little book is a welcome addition to our not very extensive list of works in English on the literatures in Modern Indian Languages, particularly with reference to their latest phase. The author, well-known in the domain of Gujarati literature, has perhaps greater claims to speak about the literature of his mother-tongue than most other scholars, as he has regularly been reviewing books in Gujarati in the pages of the Calcutta *Modern Review* for nearly thirty years; his *Milestones in Gujarati Literature*, in two volumes, is indispensable for all students of modern Indo-Aryan languages and literatures. The work consists of about half a dozen lectures delivered early in 1934 at the University of Bombay, and the following lecture-titles indicate its scope: (1) General Survey of Modern Gujarati Literature, pp. 1-47; (2) The Literature of Criticism and Review, pp. 48-64; (3) Research in Old Literature, pp. 65-81; (4) Research into the History of Gujarat, pp. 82-99; and (5) Miscellaneous, pp. 100-114. The work contains notes on other matters, it is not merely a survey of the history and trend of Modern Gujarati Literature. It is not a systematic history—the author has attempted that elsewhere: his lectures, as he says, "were meant to acquaint those who were not in direct touch with the literature of one of the most important vernaculars of India, with its capacity for expansion and progress," and he has succeeded in giving us a good idea of the main movements and personalities in Gujarati literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. It will be useful for the subject, although it is a slight work: and we would have liked it to be in greater detail—coming as it does from this doyen of Gujarati literature.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Chaucer: Troilus and Criseyde: Abridged and Edited by R. C. Goffin: Oxford University Press, 1935: pp. i-xxxiv, 1-131, including Introduction, Notes, and Sections on Chaucer's Metre and Language: Cloth. Price Two Rupees.

The editor has certainly met a long-felt want by giving us a readable abridgment of this fine poem of Chaucer's, which is not usually available for intensive study in the class-room as a prescribed text because of its comparative length. Prof. Goffin is a bit apologetic for his abridged edition, but practical needs as well as his fine execution both justify his experiment. As a result we have Chaucer's great poem without any real impairment of its beauty, and the reading of a fairly long piece of work in the characteristic romantic vein of Chaucer has its advantages in the study of Middle English and Medieval European Literature. The Introduction and Notes are scholarly and to the point. The printing and general get-up are excellent—it is a pleasure to handle such a nicely printed and beautifully got-up book. There are a few appropriate pictures drawn from medieval and early modern sources, and the two little woodcuts from Pynson's edition of c. 1526 redrawn by Mr. Lynton Lamb for the Shakspere Head Chaucer and republished here are delightful, making us wish that there were more of them in this book.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

A Modern English Reader, with English, French and German Annotations: compiled by E. Schaap and Eve L. Paull; Macmillan & Co., London: pp. 207.

A discriminating selection of short stories and long passages from 19th and 20th century prose writers in English beginning from George Eliot and Dickens, which will be found useful not only by French and German students of English and English-knowing students of French and German for rapid reading and for translation into those languages (for whom the book is intended), but Indian students of English also will find in it a good reading book to supplement their class texts.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology: by L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L., Maharaja's College, Ernakulam: Ernakulam, Cochin State, Malabar, South India. Printed at the Cochin Government Press, and published by the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, Cochin State, 1936: pp. i-xix, 1-155.

Ever since the middle of the last century when the Dravidian languages of India were recognised as forming a distinct speech-family, a number of scholars have occupied themselves in unravelling the history of these, and one of the first books written on the linguistics of the Dravidian family was Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar* (first published 1856, subsequent editions 1875 and 1916) which sought to survey the field as a whole, and has remained our chief authority for over half a century. Other scholars have given us descriptions of individual languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Brahui, etc. by writing detailed grammars and compiling dictionaries. After fifty years and more of serious study of Dravidian, we are in possession of a mass of materials—texts old and medieval, grammars old and modern, dictionaries, and historical and speculative monographs—with which a new approach to the subject is now possible. The example of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European and the success with which Indo-European linguistic origins have been reconstructed have fired the imagination of some of the investigators of Dravidian both in India and Europe, and the *Primitive Dravidian* or *Ur-drawidisch* ancestor of the Modern Dravidian languages is being invoked and attempted to be recreated. But the problem is intricate and difficult; and to try to reconstruct the pre-history of the Dravidian languages is like putting the cart before the horse when their historical development from the oldest forms available down to the present day, together with the other important facts of their dialectology and their phonetics and phonology, is not fully known. Not that there is no room or utility for any excursus into the domain of Primitive Dravidian; but the more solid and useful work would appear to be the intensive study of the facts as well as history of single speeches, on which alone the structure of the Dravidian linguistic origins can be broad-based. It is from this point of view that the present volume is doubly welcome, as being the first historical grammar of a Dravidian language, keeping itself within the bounds of the extant specimens available.

Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar is a brilliant young linguistician of South India who has already made a place for himself in Dravidian Philology. He is exceptionally well-equipped for this particular field which he has made his own. A Tamil Brahman settled in Malabar, Malayalam is a second mother-tongue with him; Sanskrit is his by both heritage and study; at college he specialised in English language and literature, supplementing it at home by studies of French and German; and he has a working knowledge of some of the

Indo-Aryan languages—Bengali he knows scientifically and practically. All this linguistic attainment he has combined with a knowledge of scientific linguistics and phonetics. Prof. Ayyar's little *Sketch of Malayalam Phonetics* (Calcutta University, 1927) is a careful study of the subject. And his articles on Dravidian linguistics are well-known. His present book on the historical morphology of Malayalam therefore will raise high hopes, and a perusal of the work will justify these hopes.

Not being a Dravidianist, the present reviewer cannot undertake to give a detailed critique or exposé of Prof. Ayyar's book, but can speak of it only in general terms. The Introductory Chapter (pp. 1-4), Chapter VI (pp. 114-138—on the morphology of some Malayalam classics) and Chapter VII (pp. 139-148—on the relationship of Malayalam with Tamil) will interest all students of Indian Linguistics, Aryan and non-Aryan. Prof. Ayyar gives in the Introduction his scheme of the linguistic periods for Malayalam, basing it on the characteristics of the language for each period. The history of Malayalam would appear to have been as follows. We have first of all Saṅgam Tamil, or *Old Tamil,* as in the earliest works of the language, up to about the 5th century A. D. This Old Tamil is treated in the Tolkāppiyam. After the 5th century, we have the second stage of the language in the works of the Saiva Sittar and Vaiṣṇava Azhvars, and this second stage, or *Middle Tamil,* extended, according to Prof. Ayyar, from the 5th to the 10th century. Up to this last date, the whole of Kerala and Dravida had linguistic unity. After this period, Tamil and Malayalam took different paths. Malayalam probably began its independent history from the 9th-10th centuries, and from about this time to the 16th century, we have what Prof. Ayyar calls the *Old Malayalam* period, which in its first phase, up to the 13th century, was still dominated by the Tamil conventions. Then Tamil, *i.e.* native Dravidian influences waned, and came in the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit, which changed the face of the Malayalam language during the 13th-16th centuries. After that we have the *New Malayalam* period, from the 16th century to the present day, which, from considerations of morphological development, Prof. Ayyar subdivides into a Transitional, an Early, a Middle and a Late or Recent stage.

I think no serious scholar of Dravidian Linguistics considers Malayalam to be anything but a member of the 'Drāviḍa' or Tamil branch of Primitive Dravidian. Culturally, and perhaps even racially, Kerala presents differences from the *Tamizh-nāḍu*; but linguistically Kerala belongs to Drāviḍa, although it is conceivable that the speech of Kerala has preserved some ancient Dravidian features which were lost to or ignored by Old Tamil of the Saṅgam literature. Professor Ayyar takes some pains to establish the affiliation of Malayalam to Early Tamil, as some scholars of Kerala (a case of local patriotism) seem to insist on the independence of their mother-tongue from that of the Tamilians, and to be anxious to invest the speech of Kerala with the dignity of a separate seat beside Karṇāta, Andhra, and Drāviḍa in the comity of the cultivated Dravidian speeches—a dignity which certainly belongs to Kerala by virtue of her specific culture and literature.

The close relationship of Malayalam to Old Tamil being obvious, Prof. Ayyar's task in tracing the history of the Malayalam forms has been rendered comparatively easy: the passage from Old Tamil to Malayalam through the Middle Tamil stage (as proposed by Prof. Ayyar) can easily be shown by means of forms attested in literature. Prof. Ayyar does not go beyond Old Tamil—but that will often be necessary in treating the forms of Old Tamil itself. Nevertheless, a few special Malayalam developments had to be worked out in their formation and history: and Prof. Ayyar has drawn our attention to them in his Preface (p. viii).

A great value of the work is in its full and painstaking documentation: references to the source-texts, whenever forms are quoted, are given throughout. The Malayalam words are given in the native script of the language and in Roman transliteration, and this enhances its value for the general linguistician—but an unfortunate omission to give English translations of these transliterated words and sentences makes the work largely tantalising for those who have no working knowledge of the language, and this has considerably limited the utility of the work for outsiders. It is hoped that when a second edition is necessary (the work should be recommended as a text-book for higher Malayalam Grammar—not for Malayalam "Philology" only), this will be rectified.

The subject of Dravidian Linguistics has a very great interest for students of Indo-Aryan as well, as, apart from the profound influences exerted mutually by these two speech-families in India, there were a number of parallel developments. Then, General Linguistics cannot neglect this important speech-family of the world. Linguistic works of a serious and solid type like the present one (with the Dravidian words romanised, and with English translations) therefore will be received warmly by a wider circle than that of Dravidianists alone.

Prof. Ramaswami Ayyar has acquitted himself well in his task, and we can look forward to seeing other similar works from his pen: a Historical Phonology of Malayalam, as a companion volume closing the formal study of the language (I hope he will use phonetic transcriptions throughout—for Old Tamil, Middle Tamil, Early Malayalam and New Malayalam, with English translations as a matter of course). Then a Historical Grammar of Tamil may be taken in hand.

Considering the resources of a provincial press in India, the printing is not so bad: but the necessary sets of diacritic types and special phonetic symbols would have given a finer presentation which the book certainly deserves. I can congratulate both the author and the Rama Varma Research Institute Committee for giving us this valuable work which meets a long-felt want.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Durga-Puja-Chitravali, by Chaitanyadeva Chattopadhyay and Vishnupada Ray-Chaudhuri: size 7¼″ × 9½″: pp. 73, with 36 Half-tone Illustrations: published by the University of Calcutta: Price Re. 1/-4/ only.

This is a work of novel kind—a unique combination of literary imagination and artistic expression. The Durga-Puja is the national festival of the Bengal Hindus, and it means much more to them than perhaps does Christmas to the average Christian, intimately interwoven as it is with their religious, social, economical and emotional life and stirring as it does, with a sort of seasonal fervour, their deepest being—a fervour which is eagerly anticipated for the rest of the year. The Durga-Puja is not only the apotheosis of the Divine Might—the Energy of the Godhead which fights and destroys evil, which removes ills and permeat all striving towards perfection, but it is also the invocation of God in Nature as the Beneficent Mother and Feeder of All, the Awakener of strange emotions with the pulsation of new vegetal life in autumn; and at the same time it embodies the sublimation or transubstantiation of our domestic loves and feelings in which God as the Great Mother of the Universe becomes the little daughter of the house come to pay her annual visit to her earthly parents. The deepest and longest experiences of the race and its most characteristic emotionalism which was the result of these experiences—all these found an outlet and expression in its seasonal festivals, and the Durga-Puja as the most important of these became established in the life of Bengal over a thousand years ago, and for the last thousand years and more it has been enriching Bengali life and culture and itself growing with the growth of Bengali life.

Bengali life is changing, and new forces have been active in transforming it, particularly during the present generation. The disintegration of our social life, and the general exodus of the middle class *intelligentsia* into the city from the village, and the growth of the individualistic idea as opposed to the communistic one which obtained in a primitive form in the older social order,—all these are creating a new outlook in which our old emotional and religious, economic and cultural life is undergoing a modification, at least outwardly and on the surface ; for the bases are too deep to be touched so quickly. What we formerly used to breathe in with the air and imbibe quite unconsciously to form our being now requires conscious assimilation in a more sophisticated age and among self-conscious groups. And the saving grace for this sophisticated age as well as for these self-conscious groups is that both are willing and anxious to understand, and find spiritual and emotional pabulum from the world of the Durga-Puja.

It is with a desire to meet this willingness and anxiety to understand the *raison d'être* of our religious festivals and to draw sustenance from them that a young-Bengali artist and his colleague have come forward with the book under review. They have sought to give, primarily for the youth of Bengal, an interpretation of the Durga-Puja as well as the myth and romance behind it, in both word and picture. The conflict that we see in nature and in life; the existence of a Power that helps and heals behind the struggles which are ever manifest in the world ; the striving of Earth for Heaven; the great allegory of the good life as the God-ordained life and the bad life which both forsakes and is forsaken by God;—all these are interpreted in a novel and a highly poetic way in terms of the Durga-Puja in its various aspects. The language is chaste and simple, and the pictures, done in the style of rapid brush sketches, form a beautiful indication of the real artistic talents of the authors. The drawing is strong, the manner economic and eloquent, and the spirit is distinctly Indian and Bengali. The result is that we have in the joint efforts of Chaitanyadeva and Vishnupada a book which will please twenty-five millions of Bengali Hindus within and outside the bounds of Bengal as well as many others who can appreciate literature and art.

The University of Calcutta, like all Universties which aim at an all-round enriching of the national culture, has rightly turned towards the native art and artistic traditions of Bengal—in addition to its services for the study and development of the language and literature of the land ; and in encouraging the publication of this work, which is certain to receive its proper support from the outside public, it has in a very graceful way performed one of its functions as an *Alma Mater*—a Bounteous Mother who fosters the cultural inheritance of her sons through appreciative study and interpretation and through a newer literary and artistic creative endeavour.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

Ourselves

I. Our New King-Emperor.—II. The Late Mr. Indubhusan Brahmachari.—III. The Late Mm. Sitikantha Vachaspati.—IV. Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress.—V. Dr. Rajanikanta Das of Geneva.—VI. Tagore Law Professorship for 1937.—VII. Fellows of the University.—VIII. University Foundation Day.—IX. Jogendrachandra Ghosh Research Prize.—X. Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal.

I. OUR NEW KING-EMPEROR.

The hubbub of December last has abated and a calm atmosphere prevails with the accession of His Majesty King George VI to the throne. We take this opportunity humbly and respectfully to convey our loyalty to our new King-Emperor. We hope and pray that his reign may be long and prosperous.

* * *

II. THE LATE MR. INDUBHUSAN BRAHMACHARI.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the death of Mr. Indubhusan Brahmachari, M.A., who was long associated with this University as a lecturer in Pure Mathematics in the Post-Graduate department. He was one of our old graduates to distinguish himself as an ideal teacher. Having worked with great efficiency in this University for a considerable length of time he had taken a trip to England, inspite of his advanced age, for further study and research abroad, an ambition which he had fondly cherished through life. Since his return from England, he never spared himself in the investigation of the most abstruse problems of Higher Mathematics, with the result that his health broke down completely and he fell ill never to recover again. He was held in high esteem by his students and colleagues and his death will be mourned by all who knew him and of his work.

* * *

III. THE LATE MM. SITIKANTHA VACHASPATI.

The sudden death of Mahamahopadhyay Sitikantha Vachaspati has given a rude shock to those who were closely associated with him in the Post-Graduate department of this University. He was a great exponent of Smriti and Nyaya as taught by the Navadvipa School. He first distinguished himself as an Adhyapaka of Smriti and Kavya in the Tol named Bejoy-chatuspathi at Burdwan. He was subsequently appointed a Professor of Smriti in the Oriental Department of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and thereafter he joined the Post-Graduate department in Sanskrit as a lecturer in that subject, serving the University till his death. He will be remembered for two of his works, *Alankar-Darpan* and a learned thesis in Bengali on Criminal Law and Procedure in Ancient India, which won for him the Jogendrachandra Ghosh prize. He was a fluent speaker in Sanskrit and Bengali and he was noted for his liberal views. He had a genial temperament for which he was loved by all.

* * *

IV. JUBILEE OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

At the invitation of this University the Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association will be held in Calcutta from the 2nd to the 8th January 1938. All necessary arrangements are being made for the holding of the Congress, and we understand our Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, will be the Chairman and Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, D.SC., and Mr. Bhupatimohan Sen, M.A. (Cantab.), M.SC., will be the Joint Secretaries to the Local Committee.

* * *

V. DR. RAJANIKANTA DAS OF GENEVA.

Dr. Rajanikanta Das of the International Labour Office, Geneva, will, we understand, shortly deliver in this University a course of lectures as a special University Reader on the Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation with special reference to the Social and Economic development in India. Dr. Das is a well-known writer on labour questions, and most of his works have opened up new fields of Economic research in India with special reference to Production and Labour. He has been working in the field for the past 24 years, and his writings have been highly appreciated both in India and abroad for methodology, comprehensiveness, objectivity and scientific approach to the subject-matter.

We hope Dr. Das's lecture will be instructive and helpful to many.

* * *

VI. TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP FOR 1937.

The Senate at their meeting held on the 12th December last, appointed Professor Sir William Holdsworth, KT., K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., as Tagore Law Professor for the year 1937, to deliver a course of lectures on "Some Makers of English Law." Sir William is a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, Vinerian Professor in English Law in the University of Oxford, Fellow of All Soul's College, St. John's College, and Reader of the Council of Legal Education, England.

* * *

VII. FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The following gentlemen have been re-nominated Ordinary Fellows of the University:—

R. N. Gilchrist, Esq., C.I.E., M.A.

The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manmathanath Raychaudhuri, KT., of Santosh.

Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, KT., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., PH.D., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal).

* * *

VIII. UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION DAY.

The following instructions have been issued regarding the celebration of the University Foundation Day, which will be held in this month :—

I. MORNING PROGRAMME : (Foundation Day)	1. Route March of students from College Square to Maidan. 2. March Past at Maidan 3. Address to students.
AFTERNOON PROGRAMME :	1. Mass Demonstration by students. 2. Demonstration of different varieties of physical activities.

II. The number of students joining the procession will be limited to 5,000. The colleges are requested to limit the number of their students accordingly.

III. Each college will arrange for regular parade and training of 1st-year and 3rd-year students of the college ordinarily, from after the Puja Vacation, by batches, each batch consisting of 100 to 200 students. This training should be held for at least two days a week. Each batch should remain under the control of a member of the staff of the college and a Professor should be specially selected to be in charge of the entire activities of the college.

Part-time services of qualified members of the University Training Corps will be available, if required. Enquiries are to be made of Lt. D. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Professor, Vidyasagar College.

IV. Each college will, if possible, arrange for some light tiffin for its students receiving training.

V. Weight and measurement should be taken of each student at the time of his joining the training and when the training is over, so that the benefit which students will derive from such training may be properly gauged.

VI. The University will award a Shield (for men students) and a Cup (for women students) on the recommendation of an impartial Committee, to the college which acquits itself best in the Parade and March Past on the day of the Celebration ; some of the points for judgment will be turn-out, stepping, general smartness, proper way of paying compliments, etc. The trophy will be kept in the college concerned during the year and the winning college will lead the procession in the following year.

VII. It is desirable that all students joining the procession should wear (*i*) white shirts, (*ii*) white shoes and (*iii*) *dhoti* or shorts or trousers. Each college should have a uniform dress for its students as far as possible.

VIII. Each college should have a distinctive flag, a distinctive banner (bearing only the name of the college) and a distinctive badge for each of its students.

IX. The colleges may consider the question of having their own bands.

X. Attempts are being made to have one marching song of the University composed for the occasion.

XI. Same arrangements as last year will be made for girl students, *i.e.*, girl students are to assemble on the Maidan and take part only in the March Past at the enclosures ; they should not join in the procession.

XII. (*a*) Four representatives from each Mofussil college are invited to take part in the celebration. They should be accompanied by a member of the staff. The travelling expenses may be borne by the respective colleges.

(*b*) These representatives may be treated as guests by the different Calcutta colleges, and a request is being made to the colleges accordingly, each college ordinarily to accommodate a batch of 8 students and 2 professors (*i.e.*, representatives from 2 colleges).

XIII. The Registrar should be furnished with the following information by the 30th November, 1936 :—

(*i*) Number of students under training for joining the Celebration ;
(*ii*) Name of the professor-in-charge ; and
(*iii*) Name of the professor or person in charge of each batch.

* * *

IX. JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSH RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Jogendrachandra Ghosh Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1935 has been awarded to Pandit Krishna Gopal Goswami, M.A., Smriti-Mimamsatirtha. The subject of Mr. Goswami's thesis was " Development of the Law of Marriage in the Smriti Literature involving relevant references to the changes introduced by British Indian Legislation and Judicial decisions in accordance with it."

We congratulate Mr. Goswami on his success.

X. DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL.

We have been requested to publish the information contained in the following notification:—

" Senate House, the 14th December, 1936.

Applications are hereby invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1936.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O., and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competition by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

Such applications from the entrants for the competition are required to be forwarded by a Member of the Senate or by the Head of any Institution affiliated to this University and must reach the office of the undersigned by the 14th January, 1937.

A. P. DASGUPTA,

Controller of Examinations (Offg.)."

RAMMOHUN ROY—HIS EARLY LIFE

A Correspondent writes as follows:—

On page 305, lines 16-18 in *The Calcutta Review* for December, 1936, Prof. U. N. Ball writes that " He (Ramkanta Roy) died on the 4th Jaist' 1210 B.S., at Burdwan. This information was supplied by Bacharam Sen in his evidence before the Supreme Court,........."

As a matter of fact, Bacharam Sain did not say that Ramcaunt Roy died *on the 4th Jyaishtha*, 1210 B.S. The relevant passages in his deposition, as preserved in the Record Room of the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court, are given below:—

In his examination in chief, in reply to the First interrogatory Bacharam Sain " Saith that he knew the said Ramcaunt Roy for about 25 or 26 years before his death and up to the time of his death who died in the month of Joistee in the Bengal year one thousand two hundred and ten at Burdwan."

Again, in his reply to the Fourth Cross Interrogatory Bacharam Sain " Saith that from the said year one thousand two hundred three up to the year one thousand two hundred and ten when the said Ramcaunt Roy died the said Juggomohun Roy and Rammohun Roy lived together with the said father."

Probably Prof. Ball has read " in the month of Joistee " as " on the fourth Joistee."

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1937

FUNCTIONS OF A UNIVERSITY[1]

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A, B.L., Bar.-at-Law, M.L.C.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

ONCE again we meet here for the third time in succession in celebration of the Foundation Day of the University. It is my privilege to extend to you all, friends and well-wishers of the University, its teachers and alumni, the greetings of the University and its indebtedness for the support and co-operation it has received from you all. In the sphere of academic work, in our efforts to serve the cause of intellectual advancement, we have striven to introduce gradual changes in our system, some of which are capable of far-reaching consequences. Our greatest handicap is want of funds but there can be no question that we must resolutely combine our resources to extend the facilities of education, from one corner of the province to the other and also to endeavour to raise its quality in every possible manner.

While the University must always help in spreading the bounds of knowledge and also in other ways strengthen the intellectual life of the country, one of its primary duties must be to devote itself directly and indirectly to the progressive welfare of the student-community in general, acting in close co-operation with schools and colleges under its jurisdiction. The University has steadily continued its policy of helping and co-ordinating the corporate activities of the colleges. Of the new projects already approved is the scheme for the promotion of military studies among its students, which though limited in extent, will lay the foundation for training in a sphere of activity capable of vast possibilities in building up national life and character. May I not express the hope that at no distant time our scheme will develop and Bengal will have a fully equipped institution for imparting military training to our youths who will obtain more extensive opportunities for efficient training in this direction ?

---

[1] Address delivered at the University Foundation Day on 30th January, 1937.

Among the schemes of expansion for the improvement of the conditions of our youths which are now engaging the attention of the University I must mention the development of the Students' Welfare Department which with its limited resources is now doing splendid work. We want to see established within the University a well-equipped organisation devoted entirely to the welfare of our students, which will act in co-operation with schools and colleges and with local branches created throughout the province. It must, among other things, organise after-care centres, arrange for free medical examination and treatment, supply teachers for physical training and maintain a central institute for general promotion of health, character and efficiency. It must foster the establishment of students' organisations within each college, pledged to their own corporate welfare and controlled and managed by themselves, for which they must be genuinely encouraged to undertake responsibility. Let me emphasise that no student-movement has succeeded in any country, nor will it succeed here, unless it guarantees to the students themselves all reasonable facilities for free and unrestricted development on lines best suited to their needs and to the needs of the nation. Again, we want to see established in this city special hostels, as cheaply managed as possible, open to all classes, which can accommodate an appreciable number of many of those homeless youths who, pursued by a burning zeal for education, move about helplessly from place to place or succeed in securing shelter sometimes under humiliating conditions. These and other projects of expansion cannot be carried into effect without substantial endowments and donations; and to the State and public-spirited citizens, I earnestly appeal to come forward and help us with generous assistance.

Closely related to the welfare of the students is the recent scheme for providing practical training in the technicalities of trades and for helping our youths in other directions. Let me say at once that the University has never claimed that the problem of unemployment, with which are closely connected many social, political and economic factors, can be solved single-handed by the University. What we are trying to achieve is to direct the attention of our educated youths to the supreme fact that if Bengal is to live and grow as a self-respecting province, her children must discover how they can be best prepared for and employed in various vocations in life, many of which are now closed to them, and not concentrate on jobs and services. This change of mentality and outlook will never be realised by mere advice, however wholesome. From all directions we must start taking action, no matter how modest the beginning may be. Of the various conditions which the State and society must fulfil, the University is attempting to achieve one and that is by seeking to establish a definite contact between itself and the world of business, trade and commerce, which may serve as a basis for future co-operation and understanding.

I have been recently asked questions regarding the form of our celebration. We are not pledged to any particular programme. We ourselves have been making changes and any reasonable proposals for future expansion of our activities will receive due consideration by tho University. But let me emphasise here once again that it was never the intention of the University that the students' display that we witness here this morning should be confined to a show or demonstration organised only for the purpose of the celebration. What the University has always aimed at is that each college under its jurisdiction should steadfastly carry on a programme of corporate activities for the benefit of its students and strive to equip them for active service in different spheres of useful and constructive work. Such activities must obviously include an intensive programme of games, drills and other physical activities conducted throughout the year to which will be attracted all students of the college. At this annual celebration friends and well-wishers of the University assemble here and witness the performance of the chosen representatives of each institution who will spontaneously come and gather under the protecting banner of their *Alma Mater.* If with the co-operation of the principals and professors and the students themselves, a scheme of work, aiming at simultaneous growth of intellect and building of health and character, steadily continues and develops, if this can gradually sow the seeds of unity, organisation and discipline even among fifty per cent. of thirty thousand youths who read in the colleges to-day, we shall be helping to create a new Bengal, a Bengal that is destined to lead and not be led, a Bengal that will produce at a moment's notice thousands of able-bodied intellectual youths, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, trained and brought up according to the highest ideals of service, capable of responding to the call of the nation and ready to unfurl the flag of truth and sincerity, of progress, unity and freedom. That was one of the principal ideals which lay behind this part of the programme of our celebration to which you, my young friends, have so nobly responded to-day.

If the University is to be true to its salt, if it is to fulfil its mission in awakening a true national spirit and the consciousness of the people, it must contribute in every possible way to the building up of the youth of the country and train them in all spheres of useful and constructive activity. Our resources are limited, our difficulties are formidable and the task of reconstruction that faces educational institutions is gigantic. Though the ideal will never be reached except by united effort and tireless work, we shall never desert our post. If Bengal is again to play her part in the remaking of India, she must produce through her educational institutions a race of men and women, strong in body and mind, true, resolute and self-reliant, burning with lofty patriotism and idealism, not carried away by emotions but capable of exercising critical and reasonable judgment, trained both to be leaders and soldiers, amenable to discipline—discipline imposed by the combined will of themselves—devoted to duty, determined to work not as a class or community but in a spirit of corporate service, and ever willing to place their services in all capacities, humble and great, for the good of society and for the advancement of the highest interest of the nation. Let us not for a moment consider the attainment of this ideal to be an impossibility. Has not Bengal produced generations of men who nobly played their parts in the regeneration of their Motherland ? Let the sacred memories of such men ever permeate the atmosphere of the University and its educational institutions, and let them serve to remind the University, its teachers and students, that we who work in this sphere of national activity are charged with a tremendous responsibility which we can never shake off.

I pray from the bottom of my heart that the University may now and for ever be the national home of progressive culture and enlightenment, the torch-bearer of knowledge and freedom and bring to its doors all classes and communities, who may be willing to join us in serving the cause of education and sow far and wide permanent seeds of national development. If the University's band has opened to-day's proceedings by playing to tune the opening lines of a celebrated national song or if you are ready to sing in chorus a song specially composed by Rabindranath, all this serves a deep and significant purpose. That purpose is nothing more or nothing less than to invoke, in the performance of our daily duties of reconstruction, the sacred name of our Motherland, to sound the clarion call of unity to one and all, Hindus, Moslems and Christians, and make a fervent appeal to them to place the interest of the country, whether it is theirs by birth or adoption, above every other interest or consideration, to bow their heads in the deepest loyalty and reverence to her Unconquerable Spirit and pledge themselves to her eternal welfare and prosperity.

THOMAS BOWDLER

A Preliminary Note.

PROFESSOR AMARANATHA JHA
Allahabad University.

DR. Thomas Bowdler was born in 1754. He was an M. D. of Edinburgh, and in 1781 was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1818 he published in ten volumes his " Family Shakespeare." He treated in the same way Gibbon's " Decline and Fall." He died in 1825. Many years later, he was mentioned with respect by Dr. Liddon at St. Paul's. According to the Oxford English Dictionary the word ' bowdlerize ' was first used in 1838.

The Title-page of *The Family Shakespeare* describes it as a work " in which nothing is added to the original text ; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family." In the preface to the First Edition Dr. Bowdler draws a distinction between the work of an artist, say the Transfiguration of Raphael or the Belvedere Apollo, and the work of a poet. "Here, then, is the great difference. If the endeavour to improve the picture or the statue should be unsuccessful, the beauty of the original would be destroyed, and the injury be irreparable. But with the works of the poet no such danger occurs, and the critic need not be afraid of employing his pen ; for the original will continue unimpaired, although his own labours should immediately be consigned to oblivion." The Editor was prophetic, though he hardly realised it. His name has become an object of ridicule, and his edition is almost completely forgotten now, though it went through several editions during his lifetime.

In the Preface he states the principles on which he brought out his edition. "It must be acknowledged," he says, " by his warmest admirers that some defects are to be found in the writings of our immortal bard. The language is not always faultless. Many words and expressions occur which are of so indecent a nature as to render it highly desirable that they should be erased. Of these the greater part are evidently introduced to gratify the bad taste of the age in which he lived, and the rest may perhaps be ascribed to his own unbridled fancy. But neither the vicious taste of the age, nor the most brilliant effusions of wit, can afford an excuse for profaneness or obscurity...My earnest wish is to render his plays unsullied by any scene, by any speech, or, if possible, by any word that can give pain to the most chaste, or offence to the most religious of his readers...I wish it were in my power to say of indecency as I have said of profaneness, that the examples of it are not very numerous. Unfortunately the reverse is the case......It certainly is my wish, and it has been my study, to exclude from this publication whatever is unfit to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies "...

In the Preface to the Fourth Edition, Dr. Bowdler observes: " The reception which the *Family Shakespeare* has experienced from the public has indeed been gratifying. It has been commended by all those who have examined it, and censured by those only who do not appear to have made any enquiry into the merits or demerits of the performance, but condemn every attempt at removing indecency from Shakespeare. It would, indeed, have given me real pleasure, if any judicious and intelligent reader had perused the work with the eye of rigid criticism and had pointed out any improper words which were still to be found in it. All observations of that nature would have been candidly and maturely considered, and if well founded, would have been followed by the erasure of what was faulty. On the other hand, I cannot but be gratified, at perceiving that no person appears to have detected any indecent expression in these volumes...I hope I may venture to assure the parents and guardians of youth, that they may read the " Family Shakespeare" aloud in the mixed society of young persons of both sexes, *sans peur et sans reproche*... The objectionable parts are so completely unconnected with the play, that one might almost be inclined to suppose that Shakespeare, in the first instance, composed one of his beautiful dramas, and after it was finished, was compelled, by the wretched taste of the age, to add something of a low and ludicrous nature. The passages thus inserted have really, in many cases, the appearance of interpolations."

On a careful examination of the text of the " Family Shakespeare," we find that (1) in some places some words have been changed ; (2) some words and phrases and whole passages are omitted ; (3) swear words are altered ; (4) some indecent phrases are allowed to remain ; (5) the name of God is omitted.

As Dr. Bowdler expressed his gratification at perceiving that no person had detected any indecent expression in his volumes, let us point out a few that escaped his eye. In *The Tempest,* he allows the following to remain:

Miranda—Sir, are not you my father ?

Prospero—Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and She said—thou wast my daughter.

In the *Twelfth Night,* (1-3) in Sir Toby's speech, Dr. Bowdler finds nothing to object to in the word "Coystril "—" He's a coward and a coystril, that will not drink to my niece." In the same scene, Sir Toby's explanation of " accost " as " board her, woo her, assail her," is retained. In Act II.3, the following speech of the Duke's is included:

" For women are as roses : whose fair flower,
Being once display'd doth fall that very hour."

In II.5, the following sentence of Malvolio's is allowed to remain:

" Having come from a day-bed, when I have left Olivia sleeping."

Of Dr. Bowdler's alterations, here are some specimens. In *The Tempest* (I.1), in Sebastian's speech, 'pox' is changed to 'plague.'

In I.2, in Prospero's speech 'demn'd witch ' becomes 'vile witch.' In the *Twelfth Night* (I.2) in Viola's speech the word 'eunuch ' is changed to 'page.' In III.4, in Sir Andrew's speech, " Pray God " is altered to " Pray heaven."

But let us turn to ' bowdlerization' proper. In *The Tempest,* "Good wombs have borne bad sons" is omitted from Miranda's speech. In III.2, Trinculo's remarks have been cut down. " Thou debosh'd fish " : " A pox o' your bottle " do not appear at all, and Trinculo's speeches lose much of their point. From Ferdinand's speech in IV. 1 the following lines are omitted:

"The white-cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my lover."

The following lines do not appear in Iris's speech:

" Here thought they to have done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,

> Whose vows are, that no bed-rite shall be paid
> Till Hymen's torch be lighted: but in vain;
> Mars' hot minion is return'd again;
> Her waspich-headed son has broke his arrows,
> Swears he will shoot no more, but play with sparrows,
> And be a boy right out."

In the *Twelfth Night*, the following gem is omitted from the Clown's speech:

> "Anything that's mended is but patcht: virtue that transgresses is but patcht with sin; and sin that amends is but patcht with virtue: if that this syllogism will serve, so; if it will not, what remedy? As there is no true cuckold but calamity, so beauty's a flower."

It is difficult to understand what obscenity or indelicacy the sensitive Dr. Bowdler saw in the following scene which he completely omits:

> "*Clown*—Good Madonna, give me leave to prove you a fool.
>
> *Olivia*—Can you do it?
>
> *Clown*—Dexterously, good Madonna.
>
> *Olivia*—Make your proof.
>
> *Clown*—I must catechize you for it, Madonna; good my mouse of virtue, answer me.
>
> *Olivia*—Well, sir, for want of other idleness, I'll bide your proof.
>
> *Clown*—Good Madonna, why mourn'st thou?
>
> *Olivia*—Good fool, for my brother's death.
>
> *Clown*—I think his soul is in hell, Madonna.
>
> *Olivia*—I know his soul is in heaven, fool.
>
> *Clown*—The more fool, Madonna, to mourn for your brother's soul being in heaven.—Take away the fool gentlemen."

In III. 1, the scene in which the Clown asks for a gratuity is omitted. In III. 4, from Olivia's speech to Viola, the following is omitted: "A friend like thee might bear my soul to hell."

I have examined *The Tempest* and the *Twelfth Night* with considerable care, and the above are fair samples of the editorial achievements of Dr. Bowdler. But he reaches the summit of his exploits in *Henry IV*, from which he omits all reference to Doll Trearsheet, who is not even mentioned in the Dramatis Personae! But he is here on the horns of a dilemma. "I wish," he says, "it were in my power to exclude every expression which approaches to vulgarity or indelicacy ; but this, I fear, cannot be done, unless the whole of those scenes are omitted in which any of the comic characters appear......... I can only say, that I have endeavoured to render the speeches of Falstaff and his companions as correct as they could be rendered, without losing sight of their characters and dispositions."

When the Editor comes to " bowdlerize " *Othello*, his difficulty is yet greater, and his expression of his trouble is naive in the extreme. His disarming advice is: " If after all that I have omitted, it shall still be thought that this inimitable tragedy is not sufficiently correct for family reading, I would advise the transferring of it from the parlour to the cabinet, where the perusal will not only delight the poetic taste, but convey useful and important instruction both to the heart and the understanding of the reader." But let us turn to the explanation that he offers: " From the multitude of indecent expressions which abound in the speeches of the inferior characters, I have endeavoured to clear the play ; but I cannot erase all the bitter terms of reproach and execution with which the transports of jealousy and revenge are expressed by the Moor, without altering his character ; losing sight of the horrors of those passions ; and, in fact, destroying the Tragedy. I find myself, therefore, reduced to the alternative of either departing in some degree from the principle on which this publication is undertaken, or materially injuring a most invaluable exertion of the genius of Shakespeare. I have adopted the former part of the alternative, and, in making this decision, I have been much influenced by an opinion which I have long entertained, that this play, in its present form, is calculated to produce an excellent effect on the human mind: by exhibiting a most forcible and impressive warning against the admission of that baneful passion, which, when once admitted, is the inevitable destroyer of conjugal happiness."

If Dr. Bowdler had realised that Shakespeare is on the side of virtue in all the plays and that he nowhere holds up to admiration infidelity, falsehood, deceit, and all the other items in the catalogue of vice from the merest mention of which Dr. Bowdler is anxious to protect young men and women, he would not have undertaken the task of bringing out a " Family Shakespeare." But we would then have never heard of him, and the English language would have had to do without a useful word.

INTER-UNIVERSITY RELATIONS AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A. (CAL.), D.LITT. (PARIS)

IN the foundation of the University of Calcutta (with that of the sister Universities of Bombay and Madras) we find the earliest and possibly the most promising example of the collaboration of East and West. The academic debate (Feb., 1835) between Prinsep and Macaulay representing Orientalism and Occidentalism was over. In October, 1845 we find the Council of Education at Calcutta, with Mr. Charles Hay Cameron as President and Dr. F. J. Mouat as Secretary, preparing a well thought out plan for a University of Calcutta: " After carefully studying the laws and constitution of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with those of the recently established University of London the latter alone appears adapted to the wants of the native community." Such was the finding of the earliest sponsors of our University as we read in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, 1852-53 (*vide* Tripurari Chakrabarti, " Foundation of the University of Calcutta "—*Calcutta Review*, March, 1936). Dr. Mouat, as we know from his lecture (March, 1888) before the Society of Arts, London, was a friend of Prof. Malden of the University College of London, who sent to Dr. Mouat a copy of his History of Universities in Europe. After due exchange of ideas, Prof. Malden (as shown by Prof. Chakrabarti) " considered Bengal to be perfectly ready for the establishment of a University." The scheme was shelved by the home Government; it was revived by Mr. Charles Hay Cameron in 1852, provided for in Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854 and finally passed by an Act (24th January, 1857) of the Indian Legislative Council, incorporating the University of Calcutta on the model of the University of London.

This is a fact which we may remember in this year of the Centenary of the University of London which almost synchronized with the 80th anniversary of the University of Calcutta.

Dr. Frederick John Mouat (1816-97) one of the pioneers of the University Education in India and author of " The Origin and

Progress of Universities of India " (1886), was a man of cosmopolitan outlook being educated in London, Edinburgh and Paris. The first Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir James William Colvile, Chief Justice, in his Convocation Address (December, 1858), characterized the University as " the ship that was freighted with the enlightenment of millions." So our second Vice-Chancellor, the Hon'ble Mr. William Ritchie, Advocate General, pronounced in a noble address (March, 1860): " Of all the defences of a state, the surest, the best and the cheapest is the education of its people." There was another Foundation Fellow, Mr. Henry Woodrow (1823-76), Inspector of Schools, who sat at the feet of Dr. Arnold of Rugby. He was a Wrangler of Cambridge and visited Europe in 1873, inspected the schools and colleges of Vienna and Zurich and, on his return to Calcutta in 1875, tried to induce the University " to extend its curriculum in physical sciences and to curtail the study of metaphysics," almost echoing the words of Raja Rammohun Roy in his famous Letter to Lord Amherst (December, 1823). Another friend and colleague of Rammohun Roy who was elected a fellow was Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff (1806-78) who edited the *Calcutta Review* and inspired the Education Despatch of 1854. Amongst the other Foundation Fellows we find the following distinguished Indians: Ramaprasad Roy (son of Rammohun Roy), Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ramgopal Ghose and Prosonno Coomar Tagore.

The Hon'ble Henry Sumner Maine, LL.D., was our Vice-Chancellor in 1863. He was not only the Legal Member of the Governor General's Council but a jurist of international fame. He was an ardent champion of the University of Calcuttta which appeared to him to be one of the great educational experiments since the middle ages, from the point of view of the *rapprochement* of the East and the West. The enthusiastic support of such eminent men soon brought the University to the attention of the Universities abroad. And very soon that movement of inter-University relations was strengthened for good by the first benefactor of the University, Prosonno Coomar Tagore (1801-68). As early as 1862, within five years of the foundation of the University, he made a princely provision in his will bringing about Rs. 1,000 per month to the University. This was utilized for the now famous Tagore Law Professorship, the first of its kind in Asia, to stimulate researches in the Science of Jurisprudence. It has brought into the circle of our inter-University relationship great jurists from different parts of India and abroad. Herbert Cowell, the first incumbent, lectured in 1870-72 ; Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, another benefactor, lectured in 1876 ; Dr. Gooroodass Banerjee, our first Indian Vice-Chancellor, also made solid contributions in 1878. In 1883 a great jurist of the German University Dr. Julius Jolly, a collaborator of Max Müller in his " Sacred Books of the East," was appointed to lecture on " Hindu Law of Partition and Adoption." Islamic jurisprudence was discussed by Syed Amir Ali in 1884. The distinguished British jurist, Sir Frederick Pollock Bart of Oxford, was appointed in 1894. Dr. (later Sir) Asutosh Mookerjee was honoured with the Tagore Law Professorship in 1898 and as soon as he found himself at the helm of the University, he utilized this Tagore Law Foundation for attracting great scholars from different Universities, keeping up the cosmopolitan tradition of the endowment. The United States of America was so far unrepresented in the succession list of our Tagore Professorship and Sir Asutosh appointed two distinguished American jurists: Prof. W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University in 1919 to lecture on " The Fundamental Concepts of Public Law " and Prof. J. W. Garner of the Illinois University in 1922 to trace " The Recent Developments in International Law in the 20th Century." In 1924, just a few months before he passed away, Sir Asutosh had the satisfaction of presiding over the lectures of the French jurist, Prof. Henry Solus, whom he invited to discuss the principles of the famous " Code Civil " of France.

Called to occupy the privileged chair of the Vice-Chancellor in 1906, Sir Asutosh soon realized that the University, in order to justify its title and its motto of " Advancement of Learning," must make a bold move away from mere affiliation and examination and that it must develop the atmosphere of research. Thus while celebrating the 50th Jubilee of the University in 1908, he inaugurated very appropriately the Readership Lectures, opening other channels of academic fellowship. Thus in 1908 we find three distinguished Readers: Dr. G. Thibaut to lecture on Hindu Astronomy, Sir T. H. Holland on Geology of India and Prof. A. Schuster, F.R.S., on Physics. In 1909 Prof. R. Pischel, the great German Sanskritist, was invited but he died on the way and his valuable collection was purchased by Sir Asutosh for the University. The German archaeologist, Dr. Theodor Bloch, attached to the Indian Museum, was also appointed in 1910 but he too died before delivering his lectures. In 1911 Rev. S. Yamakami of the Sotoshu University, Japan, was invited to lecture on "Systematic Buddhism" and his "System of Buddhistic Thought" was published by the University in 1912.

In 1911-12 Sir Asutoshwas taking giant strides towards the great goal of his University administration—the organisation of the post-graduate studies. We find him appointing the distinguished alumni of foreign universities, available in Bengal, as "University lecturers" duly appointed by the Senate. Dr. L. Fermor and Mr. Vredenburg (geologists); Dr. E. Denison Ross and Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott (*vide* Higher Persian Grammar by Lt. Col. D. C. Phillott Cal. Univ. Press) (philologists); G. B. Watson, E. A. Home and C. Russel (Patna), E. B. Watson, W. A. J. Archbold (Dacca) among others. To conduct post-graduate research and to stimulate creative work, special professorships were created to transform, in course of 1913-14, a mere examining University into a functioning centre of post-graduate teaching and research. Simultaneously, Sir Asutosh strengthened the Post-Graduate Department by inducing a few of his friends to make princely endowments. Sir Taraknath Palit Trust and Sir Rashbehari Ghose Endowment helped the nationalization of scientific research in India through the development of the University College of Science. So the Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship was created supporting research in Bengali and Indian vernaculars. Thus we found in 1913-14 quite a 'Ministry of all the Talents' in our University. Prof. Dr. Brajendranath Seal as the George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Dr. W. H. Young, F.R.S., as the Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, Prof. C. J. Hamilton as the Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. G. Thibaut as the Carmichael Professor of Indian History and Culture, with another German scholar to assist him, Dr. Otto Strauss, to teach Comparative Philology and Professor Dineschandra Sen, the renowned author of the "History of the Bengali Language and Literature" as the first Ramtanu Fellow.

Not satisfied with such generous provisions within the University, Sir Asutosh invited eminent savants from different universities abroad to develop friendly collaboration with them and also to inspire the rising generation of Indian scholars to think not merely in terms of degrees and jobs but of creative research bringing permanent glory. Here we find Sir Asutosh a veritable pioneer in Indian University administration and his noble project was ardently supported by the generation of scholars who came as our Readers or Guest Professors, many of whom returned with the Honorary Doctors' degrees of our University. Thus Prof. Sylvain Lévi of College de France and University of Paris was invited to lecture on the "Cultural Relations of India with the Outside World," Prof. Herman Jacobi of the University of Bonn to lecture on "Indian Alamkara Literature," Prof. H. Oldenburg of the University of Göttingen to lecture on the "Vedic and Epic Literature," Prof. Paul Vinogradoff of the University of Oxford on "Kinship in Early Law" and Prof. A. R. Forsyth, F.R.S., of the University of Cambridge on the "Theory of Two Complex Veriables" (Calcutta University Press, 1914).

That was a record in inter-University relations of which any University would be proud and so long as Sir Asutosh lived he never missed a single opportunity to arrange lectures of such distinguished scholars for the benefit of his students. A brief incident may illustrate his attitude. Prof. Herbert Fisher (then Vice-Chancellor of the Sheffield University, later Minister of Education) happened to visit Calcutta in 1911 as a member of the Public Service Commission. He was known to the students of the History Department of the University as an authority on Napoleon and Bonapartism. So when the students requested Sir Asutosh to bring Prof. Fisher to the University he readily agreed to be their "canvasser," convinced Prof. Fisher, although overworked as a Commissioner, and brought him to deliver a brilliant discourse on Napoleon to the great delight of the students. The eye of Sir Asutosh was like a telescope on a lofty observatory to survey the academic world, to spot rising luminaries and to draw them towards India. Just on the eve of the World War there was a session of the British Association in Australia and, counting on the return *via* India of some of the scholars, Sir Asutosh sent invitations to Prof. H. E. Armstrong, F.R.S., of the Imperial Council of Science, London, Prof. H. H. Turner, F.R.S., Professor of Astronomy, Oxford, Prof. E. H. Brown, F.R.S., of the Department of Mathematics, University of Yale, Prof. W. M. Hicks of the University of Sheffield and Prof. W. Bateson of the Cambridge University. Although most of these scholars were unfortunately prevented by the World War from visiting our University, such invitations were significant events in the annals of the Indian Universities.

As soon as the war was over, we find the University pursuing steadily this wise policy. So in 1919 we find Sir Asutosh as President of the Post-Graduate Department moving for the appointment of Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams and Dr. G. C. Simson, F.R.S., as our Readers. Prof. H. E. Armstrong lectured on Chemistry and Prof. Alfred Foucher on Indonesian Art as our Readers. Prof. Hakuji Ui of Japan was also invited but could not come. In 1921-22 Sir W. J. Pope, F.R.S., of Cambridge lectured on " Atomic Theory," Prof. J. S. Mackenzie of the University of Wales, lectured on " Philosophy " and Prof. Sylvain Lévi on " Ancient India." In 1923 when Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was lecturing on " Sāhitya," Dr. M. Winternitz of the University of Prague lectured on Sanskrit Literature. The Hon'ble Mr. Bertrand Russell, F.R.S., of England and Prof. Yone Noguchi of Keio University, Japan, were also invited in 1923-24, although they were detained from visiting India. Thus Sir Asutosh, before the premature close of his noble career in 1924, had at least the satisfaction that he brought his Alma Mater in close relations with the scholarly world of Europe, America and the Far East.[1] His wise policy was an asset of incalculable worth and potentiality as some day, let us hope in near future, it will transform the Indian Universities from a mere backwater of borrowed knowledge into a veritable ocean of learning as of yore, regulating the ebb and flow of world wisdom by the rhythm of its elemental creative urge.

That policy of Sir Asutosh is loyally pursued by his successors and we find Prof. Carlo Formichi of the University of Rome lecturing on the Upanishads (published by the Calcutta University, 1927) and Prof. Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard University, U.S.A., on " International Co-operation " as our Readers (1926-1927). In 1923 Prof. Buck of the University of Nebraska addressed on the " American Universities " and in 1927 Mr. T. Itishani of Japan lectured on "Shipping and Transport" while Prof. C. K. Webster ("the European Alliance," Calcutta University, 1929) and Dr. H. Lüders discussed their special problems of research. In 1928 we had Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld (" Lectures on Wave Mechanics," Calcutta University Press) of Munich and Prof. Glassenapp of Konigsburg. In 1929 Sir William

---

[1] In his last Convocation Address delivered on 24th March, 1923, Sir Asutosh said characteristically with profound feeling :—

" During the last sixteen years we have uniformly recognized the principle that the most fruitful results in the domain of higher studies could be achieved only by the assimilation of what is best in the West with what is best in the East. for the revivification of all that is most vital in our national ideals. It is for this reason that we have successively brought our students into contact with such master minds as Prof. Schuster, Prof. Thibaut, Prof. G. T. Walker, Dr. Forsyth, Prof. Oldenburg, Prof. Jacobi, Prof. Armstrong, Prof. Foucher, Prof. Sylvain Lévi and others."

Wilcocks, Prof. D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford (" Lectures on Arabic Historians," Calcutta University, 1930), Prof. G. Tucci ("Some Aspects of Doctrines of Maitreya and Asanga " Calcutta University, 1930) of Rome, Prof. A. P. Newton of London ("Principles of Training for Historical Investigation," Calcutta University, 1929) and Prof. E. L. Schaub of North Western University, U.S.A., were our Readers. Invitations were also offered between 1930-1936 to Dr. Maria Montessori of Rome, to Dr. A. D. Lindsay of Oxford ("On the Historical Socrates and Platonic form of the good," Cal. Univ., 1930), to Dr. J. Germanus of Budapest (Hungary), to Dr. A. McNair of Cambridge, to Dr. J. C. Webb of Oxford, to Prof. P. H. Winfield of Cambridge, to Prof. G. Montague Harris, to Madame Halide Edib Adna (Turkey), to Poet Yone Noguchi (Japan), to Dr. A. J. Barnet Kempers of Leyden (Holland), to Prof. Zoltan de Takacs of Budapest and Dr. C. F. Turner, Chairman, Health Section of the World Federation of Educational Associations.

The Tagore Law Professorships and the University Readerships have helped enormously in developing our inter-university relations further strengthened by voluntary services rendered by the members of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts and Sciences and their students, to all distinguished visitors to our University, not forgetting the advanced students from America, Germany, France, China and Japan who are ever coming on friendly enquiry. This would inevitably lead to a system of Student Exchange and we hope our University would give a lead in this matter, developing inter-university relations to the fullest extent. The Consul-Generals of the various nations take keen interest in our inter-university fellowship and have shown exemplary courtesy to the staff and the students as we acknowledged through the Officer-in-Charge of our Information Bureau. Distinguished foreign scholars, scientists, artists and antiquarians often pay visits to our University and are received by the Secretary of the Post-Graduate Department, the Registrar and our Vice-Chancellor who are all attention to them. And if time and funds permit, they are offered some special lectureship to induce them to discuss their special researches before our students and the public. Thus Prof. Patrick Geddes lectured on " Town Planning," Dr. T. R. Glover on " Athens in the Age of Plato," Prof. A. A. Macdonell on " Comparative Religion," Dr. F. W. Thomas on " Indology," Dr. G. J. Walker, F.R.S., of Cambridge on " Electromagnetism," Prof. W. A. Craigie on "English Literature," Dr. Sten Konow (Norway) on the "Scythian Period of Indian History," Prof. J. Ph. Vogel on "Java," Prof. F. S. Marvin on "History," K. J. Saunders (U.S.A.) on "Buddhism," Dr. W. H. Drummond on "Liberal Religious Movements," Sir Arthur Salter on the "League of Nations" and Prof. Norman Brown (U.S.A.) on "Jaina Painting," Prof. W. G. Raffee on "Art," Prof. H. T. Ward of the Union Theological Seminar of New York on the "Future of the Intellectual Class," Prof. E. H. Solomon on the "Protection of Indian Steel Industry." Recently Sir Ernest Rutherford of Cambridge, Dr. Rudolf Otto of Marburg, Prof. W. Blaschke ("Some Problems of Differential Geometry," Calcutta University Press, 1930) of Hamburg, Dr. Victor Goloubew of French Indo-China and Prof. Macchioro of Italy, were invited by our University which ever keeps its outlook thoroughly international and invite, irrespective of race or denomination, all who may contribute to the "Advancement of Learning"—our proud motto.

It is needless to say that such a generous approach on the part of our University was reciprocated by many leading institutions abroad. Space would not permit us to detail the facts of such cultural exchange and we mention only a few. In 1905-06 while Lord Curzon as Chancellor was perorating on "the misty arch that spans the gulf between East and West," a Vice-Chancellor of our University, Sir A. Pedler, F.R.S., was comparing our University with those of Japan and U.S.A., and the Carnegie Institution of Washington began to exchange publications with us. So ours was the first University in India to be put on the complimentary exchange list of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1910 invitations came from the University of Naples and from the St. Andrews University on its 500th Anniversary. In 1912 the University was invited to participate in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire in London where Mr. (now Sir) Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, was one of our delegates. This led to our permanent relations with the "Universities Bureau of the British Empire." In 1913 the Astronomical Society of Mexico made contact and the University of Leipzig (which sent this year Prof. Dr. F. Lévi to our Hardinge Chair) sought to establish student exchange with our University. The Royal Society of London thanked the University on its donation to the "Lester Memorial Fund

(1913) and in 1914 it celebrated Sir Walter Scott's Waverly Centenary with a centennial address from Prof. H. R. James. In 1915 Dr. Sir J. C. Bose in his Convocation address to the Hindu University, Benares, wished that our universities may attain a "world status and be fit to give world messages." In our Convocation address the University of Calcutta was rightly characterized as "the mother of Universities" for new India : "The sparks of the new inxetinguishable fire kindled in our midst have already leapt to all parts of India and the sister universities are eager to imitate and emulate what we have boldly initiated." Between 1917-19 our University, led by Sir Asutosh, was collaborating with the distinguished educationists of the Sadler Commission with Vice-Chancellor M. Sadler of Leeds. Dr. Gregory of Glasgow, Prof. Ramsay Muir of Manchester and Dr. Hartog of London, to evolve a new system of university education for India. Their Reports and Recommendations will serve as guiding light for years to come as has been observed by Prof. A. R. Wadia, the Secretary of the Inter-University Board of India (*vide India and the World*, Aug., 1934: Sir Asutosh Mockerjee and the University of Calcutta). In 1921 the Calcutta University participated in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire presided over by its former Chancellor, Lord Curzon, and also in the Association of Indian University Committee which later on developed Into the Inter-University Board of India (1921-25).

Our relation with the University of Paris was most cordial as we see from its conferring in 1920 a special medal to our University with its "sympathie fraternelle" and a hearty message, "de rendre ainsi hommage a l'Université de Calcutta et de la remercier de la part glorieuse que l'Inde a prise a la victoire commune"—rendering thereby homage to the University of Calcutta and thanking her for the glorious rôle which India had played in the common victory. So in 1920 Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquess of Zetland), an ardent supporter of our University, in his Rectorial address impressed on all Indian universities founded after the University of Calcutta "the urgent necessity of striving after a real synthesis between the thought, the culture, the civilisation of East and West."

In 1921-22 our University conferred Honorary Doctorate on Prof. Alfred Foucher and Prof. Sylvain Lévi and the University was honoured with an invitation to the Centenary of the Sociéte Asiatique of Paris (1922). In 1923-24 the University was invited to the seventh centenary of the University of Padua, to the 860 anniversary of the foundation of St. Bartholomew Hospital, London, to the centenary of Louis Pasteur, Paris, to the Congress of Librarians in Paris, to the Cambridge University Conference on Extra-mural Teaching, and to the Imperial Education Conference, London (1914),

For years together Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Roy gloriously represented our University in the world of Sciences and in ever so many inter-university functions. So in 1924-25 our University sent Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Prof. S. Radhakrishnan as delegates to the International Philosophical Congress, Naples University, and they lectured also extensively in the universities of Europe and the U. S. A. as guest professors. So Prof. C. V. Raman was sent to U. S. A. and Canada to attend the meeting of the British Association, the International Mathematical Congress of Toronto and the Centenary of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. Prof. Raman also attended the bicentenary of the Russian Academy of Science, visiting Leningrad and Moscow and these contacts and exchange of ideas brought to Prof. Raman the rare honour of the Fellowship of the Royal Society (1925) and ultimately the Nobel Prize for Physics, a few years later (1930), as the Palit Professor of our University. In 1924 the University was invited to the Imperial Conference of students, London, and to the World Federation of Educational Associations (Edinburgh) and also to the Jubilee of the University of Leeds. There were invitations to attend the Centenary of M. Barthelot, the French Chemist, the the tercentenary of Harvey, the Centenary of the University College of London, the New Education Fellowship at Elsinor, Denmark (1926-28), the Third Anglo-American Conference of Historians (1931), the World Conference on Narcotic Education (1930), the Power Congress of Berlin, the International Congress of Pure Chemistry, Madrid, the Jubilee of the University of Brussels, the International Phonetic Congress and the Congress of Anthropology, London. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, our George V Professor of Philosophy, who won great repute as a lecturer was invited to deliver lectures under the Hibbert Foundation and on the retirement of Sir J. C. Bose from the Council, was elected in his place to represent India in the League of Nations Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, Geneva. Recently he was appointed, by our University, the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh lecturer on "Comparative Religion." Prof. Radhakrishnan was appointed Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at

Oxford University. Under Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh foundation, Prof. A. A. Macdonell of Oxford lectured on "Comparative Religion" (Calcutta University Press, 1925) ; Prof. M. A. Canney of the Manchester University lectured on "Newness of Life" (1924-25). Prof. D. C. Macintosh on "The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought" (1927-28) ; Prof. J. C. Webb of Oxford on "The Contribution of Christianity to Ethics" (1930-31) and their lectures have been published by the University of Calcutta. Thus through our Fellows, Professors and Lecturers, past and present,[1] the University of Calcutta have been participating in the academic life of the world. And when our delegates attended the Centenary of the University of London we remembered with legitimate pride that in the Orient our University acted as a veritable pioneer in developing inter-university relations and intellectual co-operation between the East and the West on which depend the future peace and prosperity of mankind.

May 25, 1936.

---

[1] Several members of our Post-Graduate Department of Arts and Science have presided over the various sections of the Congress and Conferences of the All-India Orientalists' Conferences, the Indian Science Congress, the Indian Philosophical Congress, etc., and many of them have also lectured abroad taking advantage of their study leave, special deputation, or the generous provisions of the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship. Thus the sociological and economic problems of India were discussed in the International Population Congress of Rome and in the University of Munich under the auspices of the Deutsche Academie which has generously supported the cause of our students. So, lectures on Indian history and culture, on Indian Art and archaeology were delivered in the Royal Academy of Italy and the University of Rome the Geneva School of International Studies, the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the International Houses (Rockefeller Foundation) of Chinago, Berkeley and New York, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Teachers' College, Columbia University, as well as in the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, North Western, Los Angeles Oregon, Montana in the U. S. A., as well as in the university centres of Shanghai, Kaifeng, Peking Kyoto and Tokyo. Scholars of the Calcutta University today are collaborating earnestly with all the sister universities of India as members of the faculty or readers and visiting lecturers. Thus they have contributed substantially to the development of inter-university relations and cultural fellowship.

THE MINOR ELIZABETHANS AND THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PLAYWRIGHTS.

U. C. Nag.
Benares Hindu University.

"LET us write for antiquity, " Lamb is alleged to have declared, perhaps half in joke and half in exasperation at the indifference of the contemporary theatre to the indigenous playwrights of the age ; but how profoundly Lamb's declaration came to be true is scarcely realised by us to-day. It seems as if a whole generation of dramatic aspirants rose up to a man to rummage among the dust-laden and forgotten quartos and folios of the seventeenth century to discover character, plot, incident, passion, theme, stage-effects and what not, little suspecting that the gold-glitter on them was but mouldy tinsel and would bear no handling. The poetry of the period, avowedly setting out to recapture the forgotten melodies of the past, was soon able to strike out into new paths not trodden before, but the dramatic writers, at least those with ambition, floundered in the morass of seventeenth century horrors, hobgoblinism and grotesquery, ever plunging deeper into the slime of a vapid and futile idolatry of a misbegotten golden-calf unable to re-incarnate in new healthy vestures the breath that animated the Elizabethan drama.

The enthusiasm for Shakespeare and the major Elizabethans was not new. The eighteenth century had already re-discovered Spenser and established the text of Shakespeare as far as ever we can hope for. His greater contemporaries—Ben Jonson, Fletcher—still held the stage ; for does not the strolling player in *The Vicar of Wakefield* complain, " Our taste has gone back a whole century. Fletcher, Ben Jonson, all the plays of Shakespeare, are the only things that go down " ? But the lesser deities of the era were the discovery of the nineteenth century of Lamb, of Hazlitt, of Coleridge ; even the Shakeapear
the eighteenth century theatre knew, be it remembered, was
more than his bones for great Roscius to play at logg

Temperamentally the age was antipathetic to Webster, Ford, and Middleton, and others of their ilk. The only playwright among the lesser Olympians who authentically survived on the stage in the age of reason was Massinger for his *A New Way to Pay an Old Debt.*

With the romantic movement in full swing, it was but natural that a desire should spring up for a vigorous dramatic revival, specially tragedy, since authentic tragedy had practically died with Otway though comedy had a hectic short-lived life again at the end of the eighteenth century when Goldsmith and Sheridan made their appearance. Even as early as 1790 the ground was being made ready. Edward Stanley's now forgotten *Thoughts on Tragedy* was a serious attempt to point the way " by helping dramatic aspirants to come to a clear understanding of their task." The stiffening of the national will which, by some, is regarded as a proper soil for the growth of this species of literature, was perhaps also not lacking. The grim resistance to Napoleon's ambitions may be read as a sign of this. Again, it was perhaps also natural, though not fortunate, that for a model the aspirants turned to the golden age of English tragedy, there being none nearer. Most of these tragedies had unhappily become dead as door-nail in the theatre which had greatly changed since their time.

A new criticism was taking its birth, purely literary in character. It untombed the sepulchred splendour of the old drama. Lamb, Coleridge and Hazlitt were intoxicated with their poetry and shouted their discoveries in essays, lectures, etc. A sort of literary body-snatching began. Many a lost title was revived and thus came into being *Penthea, Penthea and Abradatas, Paetus and Arria, Mutius Scaevola.*[1]

Shakespeare, of course, was the god of their idolatry. This was not new. Rowe was not only his first biographer but a fervent worshipper who attempted to revive his manner in tragedy. Near the end of the century when literary forgery had become fashionable Ireland gave out that he had discovered a lost play of Shakespeare. Coming on the wave of the Celtic Revival it had its popularity for a short while till the culprit was run to earth by Johnson. The master had more earnest and more honest followers as well.

---

[1] hese titles are to be found in the records of the Revels Office, though none of the play xtant.

Foremost among these was certainly Joanna Baillie—a dour Scotch even though a woman. With a tenacity of purpose which one cannot but admire she desperately clung to the task of salvaging English drama from the slimy depths of frivolity, immorality, hobgoblinism and horrors. She aimed at the intellectual moral drama by imitating the passions, her cue having been taken from Richardsonian criticism of Shakespeare.[1] Each of her plays is founded on a single dominant passion. Baillie recalls Shakespeare in theme, situation and even in accent so much that Scott paid her the compliment of calling her " our Shakespeare in petticoat," " the bold enchantress " who snatched the wild harp " which silent hung by Avon's holy shore."[2]

She caught indeed something of the Shakespearean accent and passages reminiscent of Shakespeare are very numerous in her plays.[3] Henriquez—the hero of one of his best written tragedies speaks of

> " the stir
> Of tented sleepers rousing to the call ;
> The snorting steed etc." (Act IV, 3.)

which unmistakably recalls Othello's " The neighing steed, etc."

In the tragedy of De Monfort (1798) Monford's soliloquies before murdering Rezenvelt, are obviously reminiscent of *Macbeth*. The tragic close of Basil is not without some resemblance to the catastrophe in *Romeo and Juliet* while the way in which Victoria is made an unconscious tool by her father reminds us of Ophelia. (Ham. III, 1.) The opening scene of this play again is certainly imitated from that of *Julius Caesar*. Her third tragedy Ethwald (1802) is a study in ambition leading to criminality and ultimate spiritual paralysis. Some of the minor incidents in the play are once more suggested by Shakespeare, *e.g.*, Ethwald's wooing of Elburga is copied from Gloucester's wooing of Anne ; [4] the meeting of Ethwald and the Druids in a cave is unmistakeably founded on Act IV, 1, of Macbeth. The verbal echoes again are too numerous to mention within the space allowed here.[5]

---

[1] This has been treated in detail in my paper on *Dramatic Criticism of the Romantic Revival* in *The Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932.*

[2] *Vide* Scott, Marmion (Introduction, Canto III).

[3] Her style generally highly padded and embroidered like that of Ford, though she shows real power in the instrumentation of feeling.

[4] The character of Elburga however is not Shakespearean, but inspired by Elvira in *Pizarro.*

[5] Mary Carhart gives a long but by no means an exhaustive list of paralle in an Appendix to her *Life and Works of Joanna Baillie.* (California Univ. Press.)

While Shakespeare is her model in the tragedies, her comedies often recall Ben Jonson, so much so that she would have been considered Ben's spiritual daughter had she lived in the seventeenth century. Her dominant note in comedy is "humour" in the Jonsonian sense—an overdrawn weakness which leads to some ridiculous situations. It must, however, be noted that she has none of the bitterness of the old master. This Jonsonian trait is best seen in her later and better executed comedies. Lady Worrymore in her *Enthusiasm* is down to her name Jonsonian with a flavour of the late XVIIIth century gentility. Occasionally in course of the development of her comic plays she catches some notes from Shakespeare.[1] Lady Shrewdly, another "humorous" character in the same play, is the lineal descendant of Lady Allworthy in *A New Way to Pay Old Debt*. *The Match*, one of her latest comedies, is once more a pronouncedly Jonsonian play of every-one-in-his-or-her-humour. All the characters concerned are cured of their 'humours'—Sir Kunliffe Cameron of his 'suspectiveness,' Latitia Vane of her chronic indecision, Franklin of his pride and Thornhill, like his prototype Mathews of Jonson, of his sonneteering mania. Brightly the arch-plotter who causes everything in the play to happen is a sort of Brainworm without his malice.

Baillie was not the only playwright of the period who set about consciously to revive the Elizabethan manner in drama, notably that of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. John Tobin, a solicitor who devoted all the spare time to dramatic composition has left us in his *Honeymoon* (acted at Drury Lane in 1804) one of the most successful poetic comedies since the seventeenth century. Its story borders on that of *The Taming of the Shrew* and recalls also Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*,[2] *Twelfth Night*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Henry IV*. Its style recalls in some measure the style of some of the later Elizabethans the motive of "a girl disguised as a boy" re-appears with the less familiar motive of a servant dressed as his master.[3] Lampedo the poor starving apothecary recalls his brother-in-the-trade in *Romeo and Juliet* while his name and features may have been suggested by the phenomenally lean Lampetho in Marston's *What You Will* (C. 1602).

---

[1] *e.g.*, the passages-at-arms between Miss Frankland and Clermont are obviously founded on those of Beatrice and Benedick ; the disguise motive in *The Match* once more borrowed from *Merry Wives*.

[2] This was a stock-piece of the XVIII century theatre having been acted at both the patent houses till 1772 and later.

[3] *Cf.* Gascoigne—*Supposes*—Dulipo and Erostrato.

Some, the torrential vituperations indulged in by Balthazar, a leading character in this comedy, recall at once Shakespeare, Marston and Chettle.[1] The disguise-motive is once more repeated in his later poetic melodrama, *The Curfew*, which is not uninspired by Schiller's *Die Rauber*. The episode of the heroine's falling into the hands of the robbers in the forest is unmistakeably reminiscent of Sylvia's captivity in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, while her pleadings with her captors to spare her life echoes Marina's pleadings in similar circumstances in *Pericles.*[2] In the *Faro-Table* the philanthropist belongs to the same genre as Flowerdate and Friscoboldo in the apocryphal *London Prodigal* (pub. 1605) and *The Honest Whore* by Dekkar.

The greater romanticists, without exception, show their indebtedness to Shakespeare and his later contemporaries. Wordsworth's *The Borderers* in its thesis is quite Shakespearean. "Sin and crime are apt to start from their opposite qualities ; and there are no limits to the hardening of the heart and the perversion of the understanding to which they may carry their slaves," says Wordsworth, and no one need be told how well this summarises the tragedy of Macbeth. Oswald, the villain of the piece, is once more one of the many Iagos who insinuate their way on to the contemporary stage just as Idonea is a northern proletarian Desdemona on whom poverty sheds an added lustre. Shakespearean echoes and reminiscences are even more pronounced and frequent in Coleridge and this is as was to be expected. *The Remorse* does not, however, show very many of them. Its foundation on a dominant passion shows its affinity with Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* and may be traced to the influence of the romantic criticism of Shakespeare, such as Richardson had instituted. Teresa the Heroine, by the way, reminds one of Monimia in Otway's *The Orphan*, the early seventeenth-century note of which is recognised. In sacrificing the rather dry-eyed tragic pity and terror to free emotionalism Coleridge was deserting Shakespeare in favour of Otway. In diversity of character-drawing, in the richness of atmosphere, in the range of expression Coleridge in his next play—*Zapolya*, comes as near to catching the very breath and accent of the master as anybody has ever done ; but what might have been a great romantic masterpiece is spoiled by a certain obvious perfunctoriness and half-hearted workmanship in the elaboration of the plot. The last section of Part I where Zapolya makes her hurried flight with the infant prince, helped by Chief Ragozzi, is one of the most tense dramatic moments such as has rarely been transcended even by Shakespeare. Here all facile poetic excrescences such as are very commonly found in the poetic dramatists of the period have wilted away in the white-heat of a powerful passion. Again in Part II, which in its romantic savage forest setting pointedly recall's the setting of Shakespeare's latter-day plays, Sarolta and more so Glycine may well stand beside Imogen and Perdita. The song of Glycine which seems to illumine the dark forest like a shaft of sunbeam catches something of the beauty and tenderness of the lyrics in Shakespeare's dramatic romances.

---

[1] In *The Honeymoon* Balthazar calls Lampedo "the sketch and outline of a man—the thing that has no shadow, eel in consumption, etc." Compare this with

> "You starveling, you elfskin, you dried neat's tongue, etc.
>
> I Henry IV, 2, 235.
>
> "Thou bare anatomy, thou withered elder pith, etc."—Plaunsey to Momford in IV, 2 of *The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.*

[2] *Pericles*, IV, 3, 179-181.

The Cenci with its Fordian foundation shows its affinity in spirit and execution with the early seventeenth century. The breaking up of the banquet at Act I, 3, and the trial at Act V, 1 both unmistakably hark back to the same period. The former, as will be easily recognised, is a device suggested by *Macbeth*, Act III, 4, and the latter is equally unmistakably inspired by Webster's *The White Devil* or *Vittoria Corombona*, Act III, 1. It may be of interest to note in this connection that both these devices became very popular with the nineteenth century dramatists perhaps because of the spaciousness and the spectacular tendency of the stage.[1]

Lamb, like Coleridge an ardent Elizabethan enthusiast, naturally bowed down in this same house of Rimmon. His *John Woodvil* in style and temper is a stark Jacobean play. Its arcadianism harks back to Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher. His mimicry of Jacobean style was so completely successful that Godwin mistook a long descriptive passage from it as having been written by some unknown early seventeenth century master.[1] Lamb catches in this play something of the grace and pathos of Massinger at his best without his inventiveness while his heroine recalls the heroines of Beaumont and Fletcher's romances. In many of the comic passages he shows a nimbleness in the manufacture of a jest which has a Falstaffian ring.[2] He lacks, however, the constructive skill and virility of the early masters and is great only in isolated passages.

---

[1] Nicoll, *British Drama*, p. 233.

[1] A full-dress trial scene occurs in Byron's *Marino Fnliero* and *The Two Foscari*, Miss *Mitford's Charles I*, Sheridan Knowles' *Virginius*, Milman's *Fazio*, Taylor's *Isaac Commeneus*, Grover's Anne Boleyn, while the breaking up of a banquet is resorted to in Byron's *Sardanapalus*, Proctor's *Mirandola*, Beddoes' *The Bride's Tragedy*. Baillie's *Henriquez* and Mrs. Heman's *The Vespers of Palermo*. These do not exhaust the list. It is also worth noting that in the last-mentioned play of Mrs. Hemans Vittoria's pretended marriage which furnishes the opportunity to the Sicilians to avange themselves on their enemies, the French, is once more a device borrowed from Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*. The verbal echoes from Shakespeare are frequent and obvious. Nicoll—*XIXth Century Drama*, Vol. I., p. 197.

The dramatists of the romantic decadence growingly betray the influence of the Jacobeans. Beddoes and Darley are as brothers-in-spirit of the Ford-Shirley-Tourneur group. Even robust Sir Walter Scott is lured from the healthy heights of his highlands into the miasmatic depths of hobgoblinism and fantastic horrors of *The Doom of Devorgoil* and *Auchidrane*. *The Bride's Tragedy*, in spite of its obvious power, is the exhalation of a diseased mind. The hero is a pathological character of the Fordian type. The devise of the poisoned nose-gay to put the doomed hero out of the pain and humiliation of a public execution, is borrowed from Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. In dramatic phrasing Beddoes often catches a beauty and power recalling Shakespeare and Marlowe, *e.g.*,

> "A mother's agony is holy
> As Nature's mysteries." Act III, 5.

or

> "Is there no nook just big enough for me
> Or, when I'm dead, can I not pass my soul
> For common air, and shroud me in some cloud."

Beddoes is in love with death, a creeper into worm-holes, but his friend—Darley—is all for the open air and the flowers in the glade. His *Sylvia* is a pastoral poem cast into dramatic form without being a drama, and is moulded on the *Faithful Shepherdess*. Its fancy and humour remind one of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* from which comes the inspiration for the fairies and elves who befriend the lovers. The loutish devils—Grumiel and Momiel—lineal descendants of the Morality Vice—are distinctly reminiscent of Hircius and Spungius of Webster and Dekker's *The Virgin Martyr* ; the doubling of the clown resorted to by Shakespeare out of theatrical necessity occurs here again in a play which is obviously not meant for the stage. Some of the lyrics with which the drama is interspersed are thoroughly in the manner of the seventeenth century lyrists, notably that of Herrick whose gaiety, abandon, lilt of movement and stanzaic patterns have been in all probability consciously imitated with considerable success. Herrick's love of beautiful young maidens, flowers, songs, colour, perfume and summer-days re-appear here. What could be more like Herrick than the following:—

---

[1] Simon Lovel's speech at the end of Act II commencing

To see the sun to bed and to arise, etc., etc.

[2] "At noon I drink for thirst, at night for fellowship, but above all I love to usher in the bashful morning under the auspices of a freshening stoup of liquor." Act II, p. 14.
(Plays and Dramatic Essays, Scott Library.)

"Purple heather
You may gather
Sandal-deep in seas of bloom
Pale-faced lily
Proud Sweet-Willy
Gorgeous rose, and golden broom!

Odorous blossoms
For sweet bosoms
Garlands green to bind the hair
Crowns of Kirtles
Weft of myrtles
Youth may choose and Beauty wear." [1]

Charles Wells' *Joseph and his Brethren,* discovered after an eclipse of nearly half a century by Rossetti, is yet another instance of the Elizabethanism of the Revivalists. In Phraxanor, the heroine, "is the imperious conscience of power" as in the heroes of Marlowe, and we often come across passages with a good deal of the strength and vigour occasionally amounting to vehemence of Marlowe's mighty lines; for instance, when Phraxanor is repulsed by Joseph her anger flashes out like lightning that unloosens a tempest:—

"I have a mind
You shall at once walk with those limbs
Into your grave."
Act II, 3.

and how Marlowesque again in its vehemence is the passage that soon follows:—

---

[1] Sylvia, p. 130, Darley's Poetical work (The Muses' Library Edn.).

"I am a dragon now:
My nostrils are stuff'd full of splenetive fire
My tongue is turn'd into a furious sting
With which I'll strike you."

What a suitable mate she would have been for blustering Tamberlaine!

In the general preference for themes of love and revenge or, as often happens, in the combination of the two, the nineteenth century romanticists betray unmistakeably their source of inspiration.[1] There is also noticeable some activity in the field of Chronicle drama founded on British as well as European history, mostly medieval, though the immediately preceding age of Napoleonic history is not altogether ignored.[2] Many of the minor writers of the period in certain cases borrow elements of plot and character from the old writers and incorporate them into their plays; *e.g.*, Paynter's *Euripylus*, an unsavoury play dealing with murder, harlotry and villainy have several incidents and characters recalling those in Marston's *The Malcontent*. Sheil's *Bellamira* (1818) has two leading characters, both renegades, the models for which in all likelihood have come from Ward and Danishker, renegade pirates, in Daborne's *Christian Turn'd Turk* (1612). *Henry and Almeria* (1802) a sentimental romantic play—by Andrew Birrel—has an episode taken from *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* while *The Guardians*, of anonymous authorship, shows very strong similarity of theme and plot with Haughton's patriotic comedy, *Englishmen for My Money* or *A Woman Will Have Her Will* (1598).

Apart from the plays cited above, there was yet another class of plays in this period which were wholesale re-working of old plays. Such for example are Sheridan Knowles' *Virginius* and *The Beggar of Bethnal*, Sheil's *Evadne* and *The Fatal Dowry*, Thomas Wade's *The Woman's* Love and George Croly's *Catiline*. All these are what we call 'free adaptations' retaining little or nothing of the language of the original but following more or less strictly the plan of the original story and retaining most of the important characters.

---

[1] Delap's *Matilda* and *The Usurper* (the story of this resembles at several points the story of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*) Hitchener's *Ivor*, Coleridge's *Zapolya*, Parlby's *Revenge* or *The Novice or San Martino*, Sheil's *Apostate*, Peacock's *The Circle of Loda* are among instances in point.

[2] Byron's tragedies, Keats' *King Stephen*, Coleridge's translations of Schiller's two great plays, Milman's *Anne Boleyn* and dramas reproducing Jewish history, Baillie's *Constantine Paleologus* are several examples of one kind, while Mitford's *Rienzi* is a fusion of the old and the new; and *The Fall of Portugal* and *The Abdication of Ferdinand* deal with contemporary history.

Knowles, in setting about this business, has kept in view, more than anybody else of his time, what his theatre needed. He has developed the plot without departing very much from the main outlines of his models except when his point of view has made it necessary. In this regard, I believe, he has shown greater respect for the old masters than the Restoration and the XVIII century adaptors of Shakespeare had shown to England's greatest poet and dramatist. It would be, therefore, interesting to analyse his method. Knowles knew that he lacked the poetic gift of Webster, so he relied more on his own purely dramatic talent, keeping in mind the temper and character of his audience. Webster opens his tragedy of *Appius and Virginia* (*c.* 1608) with Appius as the central figure whereas Knowles reveals a truly domestic scene featuring Virginius who benignly smiles on the simple and unsophisticated love of his daughter. So the emphasis here is on the father and the daughter. From the beginning Knowles avoids striking the the deeper tragic note.[1] Instead of the Roman we have a very human, perhaps, English touch. This domestic note, which was noted by Horne at the first appearance of the play,[2] is pervasive. Commenting on this Nicoll rightly observes that "Knowles was at least so far ahead of his companions that he endeavoured to treat his theme in a vivid manner."[3] In order to maintain this temper Knowles has abstained from intruding the low-comedy relief such as Webster brings in through Corbulo. The coarse buffoonery of that type is as much out of place in the atmosphere of domesticity of this play as a monkey in Mayfair. Further, in the old play the love-motive is absolutely slurred over. In Act I, 2 —a very short scene—Webster allows only about five lines to Virginia while the corresponding scene, *i.e.*, Act I, 2, in Knowles' play runs to four times the length of the former. Webster's Virginia is a woman who understands life, so her reply to the lover is courtly, rather cold, and perhaps not without a touch of cynicism, whereas the nineteenth century Virginia is a mere girl just out of school, retaining all her enthusiasm for her Prince Charming—a Jane Austen heroine decked out in the trappings of ancient Rome. Similarly Appius—"that tremendous tragic conception" of Webster—is watered down.[1] The older Appius is far more subtle; in him are deeper depths and darker shadows; his passion is long smouldering but he is cool enough to bide his time. The difference between the two Appiuses becomes clearer when we compare the trial-scenes and the prison scenes of the two plays. A similar difference is also to be noticed in the conception of the two Virginiuses, the earlier is the harder grained and less sentimentally conceived. The later Virginius maddened by grief rushes into the prison-cell of Appius, crying

---

[1] See *London Mercury*, Aug. 1930 Early Victorian Shakespeare—Elwin.

[2] R. H. Horne, *The New Spirit of the Age*.

[3] Nicoll, XIX Century Drama, Vol. I, p. 172.

"Give me my daughter"

whereas that of Webster darts hatred and prepares for the act of vengeance.

It is also of considerable interest to note the difference in the technique of the two playwrights. The bare Elizabethan stage called for greater power of expression and so offered fuller opportunities for poetry. The nineteenth century stage with its proscenium, scenery, curtain and superior lighting arrangements offered opportunities for development along different lines—in the direction of increasing visualisation. Throughout the play Knowles exploits this advantage and turns his natural handicap in respect of poetic utterance into quite effective dramatism by shifting the appeal from the ear to the eye, by reducing speech to pantomime. From this point of view, the last scene of the later *Virginius* is of very great interest. This continues the action of the play when Virginia and her oppressor are both dead. As the scene opens Virginius is discovered on one knee with Appius lying dead before him when, with several other characters, Icilius enters bearing an urn. They try to attract his notice but without success. Icilius persists in his efforts when Virginius at last breaks out into speech—

"That voice—that voice—I know that voice!
It minds me of a voice that was coupled with it,
And made such music, once to hear it was

---

[1] See London Mercury, *op. cit.*
It is also to be noted that the dominant note of Knowles' tragedy is that of Lessings *Emilia Galotti* by which this among other plays of the period, *e.g.*, *Adelaide* of Sheil, was inspired.

Enough to make it ever after be
Remember'd! [1]

At this stage Icilius places the urn in his hand and Virginius exclaims:

Virg. Ha! What's this
Icil. Virginia!

and then words give place to action, hearing to sight, and we presume that characters on the stage are disposed of in effective groups as the curtain drops.

In 1828 Knowles once again took up the story of an early seventeenth century play to re-work. This was *The Blind Beggar of Bednal* (1600) by Day and Chettle. In reworking the old play Knowles allows himself much greater latitude than in the previous instance. In the mainplot he does no more than keep to the general outline of the story as given by Day and Chettle, while in the subplot Tom Stroud, the Norfolk yeoman's son, is supplanted by Young Small, the son of a pinmaker. Small, like his prototype, is bitten with the ambition of becoming a gentleman and his amorous adventures culminate in his winning the hand of a barmaid whom he mistakes for a maiden of noble birth. This part obviously recalls Cervantes. In weaving the two plots together Knowles fares worse than his Elizabethan masters. On the whole it is one of his bad plays and shows that Knowles at his best possessed only technical efficiency but not mastery. His *Caius Gracchus* (1815), another tragedy founded on Roman History is clearly reminiscent of Shakespeare. Its general atmosphere is imitated from *Julius Caesar* while the characters of Cornelia, the mother of Caius and a sturdy Roman matron, and Licinia, his wife—a tender and timorous young lady are modelled respectively on Volumnia and Virgilia.

Richard Lalor Sheil, an Irishman and a member of Parliament, was the playwright *par excellence* of the second decade of the century. Of him Nicoll says with justice that "he comes as near as any of his contemporaries to securing a truly dramatic effect." [2] He was well read in the dramatic literature of the seventeenth century as is evident from his trenching upon such a little known playwright as Robert Deborne. The love-romance of Florinda, the daughter of a Spanish grandee, and Hemaya, a Moorish prince, in Sheil's *Apostate* (1817) is perhaps not altogether uninspired by *Othello*. In his Evadne (1819) he has adapted a popular seventeenth century tragedy, *viz.*, Shirley's *The Traitor* (1631), with much judgment and spirit. In adapting the play to the taste of the XIXth century audience Sheil has dispensed with much that is gross and gruesome in the old play. The compression of the successive intrigues of Lorenzo—the villain of the piece in the original play—into a single intrigue of Ludovico in *Evadne* and the rather happy device by which Sheil's heroine succeeds in turning aside the king from his lustful pursuit of her is well calculated to be effective on the stage. The happy-ending, prompted undoubtedly by the theatrical taste of the time, that is thus secured for the old tragedy in its new guise is emphatically far less reprehensible than many of the outrages committed on Shakespeare from the time of Davenant to the nineteenth century.[2] In avoiding the gruesome exhibition of a dead-body so dear to the audience of the Jacobean theatre, as in Act V, 3, of the *Traitor*, Sheil was making a real improvement. But very different is Olivia's deception of Evadne which is difficult to credit, specially when the latter does not so much as even suspect her friend. Of the heroine Leigh Hunt justly observes that "the truly feminine and noble character of Evadne is a delightful relief from the selfish and extravagantly virtuous wives who have been palmed off upon us of late as women."[3] Sheil also adapted *The Fatal Dowry* written by Massinger and Field (first printed in 1632), one of the most popular survivals from the Jacobean era which inspired several playwrights in the XVIIIth as well as in the XIXth century.[4]

---

[1] It will be seen how poor an imitation this is of Lear's!—
"Ha!
What is't thou say'st?—Her voice was ever soft,
Gentle and low, an excellent thing in a woman."—
but Knowles was not poet enough to command such expression of concentrated pathos which by its very intensity rises to tragic grandeur.

[2] Allardyce Nicoll, British Drama.

---

[1] See p. 19.

[2] Adaptations of Shakespeare by Davenant, Dryden, Tate, Cibber are all too well known to need recapitulation. See Montagu Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations*, and Nicoll, *Adaptations of Shakespeare in the Restoration Era* (Shakespeare Society). In the XIXth century Reynolds turned several of Shakespeare's comedies into operas. Milner, of *Preventive Service* fame, recast *Romeo and Juliet* as *The Lovers of Verona. The Merchant of Venice* was similarly done into *The Three Caskets, The Taming of the Shrew* retained its title but *The Winter's Tale* became *Florizel and Perdita* and *Richard III* became *The Battle of the Bosworth Field.* The climax of these outrages was reached when *Hamlet* was "rounded off with a peal of joy-bells at the wedding of Ophelia and her moody Dane" as we are told by the historian of *The Old Vic.* (Bayliss, The Old Vic.)

[3] The Examiner.

[4] *e.g.*, Rowe's *Fair Penitent*, Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage.* Maturin, Lady Dacre, Sheil all show special partiality for the particular form of pathos of this old tragedy.

John Banim, another playwright of the period, trenched upon Richard Edward's *Damon and Pythias* written for the children of the Chapel Royal in 1571. In the nineteenth century version the part of Grim the collier is totally cut out and the comic interludes of the Tudor play are more or less suppressed while the sensational and the sentimental features are emphasised.

Thomas Wade's *Woman's Love* is a play of some significance, combining as it does literary merit with theatrical effectiveness. The story of the play is an old favourite coming down from Boccacio and Chaucer. In 1565 John Philip made of it an interlude called *Patient and Meek Grissel,* but Wade went to the early seventeenth century version of it by Chettle, Dekker and Haughton written for Henslowe in 1600. Wade develops the play with the utmost delicacy. The whole atmosphere is toned down to such a wistful half-light that many improbabilities seem probable, and shows the author to possess a notable dramatic capacity dominated by a quaint fancy. With a delicate perception of the needs of such a play, he carefully avoids all strident exhibition of coarseness and violence such as are to be found in the old play where, for example in II, 2, Grissel is made to tie up the shoe-lace of Flurio and again in IV, 2, where Grissel's patience is decidedly overstrained. Its pastoralism is obviously of the seventeenth century, reminiscent of Perdita among her flowers and plants. The last scene of Wade's play is excellent, the suspense being maintained till the very last moment which imparts to the happiness in which the play ends a rich and full flavour. On the whole Wade's version compares most favourably with its Elizabethan prototype. Wade appears to possess some of Dekker's gifts without his coarseness which often enough blurs the pages of the latter's writings.

George Croly, the author of the *Romance of Salathiel,* wrote the tragedy of *Catiline* (1822) which, as its title indicates, is an adaptation of Ben Jonson's famous exemplar of classic tragedy. The duality of the character of Catiline is well hit off but in the prominence given to Hamilcar Barca, Croly creates an unnecessary competing interest which takes off much from the unity of impression. In the management of the death of the hero, however, he achieves a happier effect than Ben Jonson who simply puts it in narrative thus weakening the final effect.

From the foregoing, it is fairly obvious that the minor Elizabethan playwrights were often quarried from by the dramatic aspirants of the romantic revival. The better known Elizabethans like Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Dekker, Webster and Ford inspired several of the more outstanding playwrights of the period including Shelley, Lamb, Baillie, Tobin, and Beddoes among others who are less known. The influence of Shakespeare is all-pervading. Characters, incidents, situations, episodes and phrasing in many a play pointedly recall the great master but none was able to catch from him " hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play." Baillie's are the most systematic attempts, persistently carried out over a period of nearly forty years, to recreate the poetic, imaginative play in which at times she all but succeeds. Her age's preference for the tin gods of the theatre like Dibdin and Holcroft was in part responsible for her failure to achieve her end. Her richly padded and decorated style, learnt perhaps from Ford, without any appreciable modulation according as character and situation demanded, was a hindrance rather than a help to the actor who, also, had lost the trick of reciting blank-verse lines " trippingly on the tongue " which gave them naturalness.

Most of those writers who really had the gift of poetic articulation failed to pick up the technique of playmaking, while those who could make plays were led off on the false scent of strident passion and spectacular and sensational stunts of the later Jacobean theatre. For this, perhaps, the extraordinary size of the patent theatres—" too large to hear and too long to see "—was partly responsible.[1] There also was an unhealthy love for the antique. The spacious times of the great Elizabeth exercised a fascination which did not, at any rate in the realm of dramatic literature, make for any healthy growth. In their exuberant enthusiasm for the golden age, the dramatic writers forgot the essential truth that " art is not a gorgeous sepulchre immoveably brooding over a lonely eternity of vanished years ; that " it belongs to the procession of life, making constant adjustment with surprises, exploring unknown shrines of reality along its path of pilgrimage, to a future which is as different from the past as the tree is from the fruit." [2]

---

[1] For the character of the contemporary stage and its audience see the present writer's *The English Theatre of the Romantic Revival* (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, September, 1928).

[2] Tagore, *The Ideals of Art.* (*Viswa Bharati Journal*, 1926.)

KILLING FOR FAITH

SUHAS CHANDRA RAY, M.A.
Calcutta University.

THERE was a time when men killed eath other for faith. The burning of a heretic on the stake was an *auto-da-fe*—an act of faith, and the slaughter of an infidel was a short cut to Heaven. The first Massacre of the Innocents was a political rather than a religious act, but several such massacres were enacted in later times in the name of religion. A new faith was always met by the sword, and profiting by that example, it turned its sword upon its enemies, as soon as it grew strong. Unbelievers had no option but to accept the faith or die.

In civilised countries, now-a-days, men no longer shed their own or their neighbours' blood for faith. Of course, in 'semi-civilised' countries, as in India, we still hear, from time to time, of heads being broken and ribs dissevered by pious people, acting under the impulse of faith. But even here, the 'religious' riots are often credited to political causes, being regarded as the bitter fruit of the Communal Award far more than of the communal feeling. Anyway, faith has now weakened considerably as a moving power, and if it heals not now as in days of yore, it kills not, too.

Faith, we have said, has weakened in its power. But faith, like hope, reigns eternal in the human breast, and if it has been dislodged from the temple of God, it has shifted its quarters to the Forum and the Council House. Politics is the new god—the horrid king, besmeared like Moloch, "with blood of human sacrifice and parents' tears." All the world is now ruled by this new faith. The old, academic theories of the state have developed into holy creeds. Even the nomenclature has changed. We talk no longer of old, familiar "ocracies"—democracy or aristocracy; they are now superseded by "isms"—Fascism, Socialism and Communism,—each with its own articles of faith. The champions of these new faiths are out for evangelising the world with fire and sword. "There can be but one form of government for the whole of the world," they say, even as our ancestors thought that only one religion was good for the rest of mankind. We have no respect for the humble quack who advertises his nostrum as the panacea for all ills that flesh is heir to. But we lionise and shed our precious life-blood for the political dilettante, who indulges in abstract speculations that will never add one cubit unto any man's stature. And yet men will always be flying after these "shadows of a shade," and flying at each other's throats, too, for their vindication. Witness the awful tragedy now enacted in the "renowned, romantic land " of Spain, with a fair prospect of repeat performances in every quarter of the globe.

Sad was the day when the Rights of Man were declared from the tops of garrets and other dubious places. For, more blood has been spilt over these supposed rights than in the name of religion. And still the rights remain as vague and elusive as ever. Every man may have the right to live (though even this may be disputed by biologists), but to think that every man has the right to rule ! Human nature being what it is, there must be some people born to rule, and some others born to obey. The days of chivalry are not really gone, nor are the days of loyalty and hero-worship. And yet they will have *all* men as equals ! Physically, we perceive, no two men are equal, but we are made to believe that all men are equal mentally and morally. This eglatarian theory has been the bane of modern society. Naturally, it has engendered false hopes, sad disappointments and endless strife between class and class.

"If the National Government in Spain," writes an English journal, "be defeated in the present civil war, England alone will remain the last stronghold of democracy." This is a sad confession of the failure of democracy. Of course, it does not imply that democracy would fail in every instance. Democracy is a native of the soil of England, and may very well thrive there, but that is no reason why it should be transplanted everywhere by force. Indeed, in some countries and in certain times, democracy has been fraught with so many evils, that like Wordsworth, yearning to be "a Pagan suckled in a creed outworn " (in the matter of religion), we would fain long for a return of the good old days of Haroun-al-Raschid and other benevolent despots. But despotism is not, after all, "a creed outworn." Some of the finest races of the earth are now being willingly (and prosperously) ruled by a Dictator, and your Dictator is but the old despot "writ large." Such failure is bound to overtake a system of government, which is based on the counting of heads, without taking account of the brains, which, alas, are not in the gift of man, but of Nature, who delights in freaks and variations !

The fact is that different political systems, as old Aristotle outlines them, have all their own good points, and are differently suited to different nations. They have their evils, too, and they must work out their perfection by eschewing those evils. Here we have a perfect analogy of politics with religion. Just as the diverse religious systems are so many different paths to spiritual well-being and the realisation of God, each good in its own way, so the diverse political systems, too, aim at the same material welfare, with methods varied as the minds and conditions of man. It is no use trying to force one's own political faith upon another, in the brave, old missionary spirit. Enough has been the evil done for doing good to others against their will !

Religious toleration is perhaps, next to science, the greatest contribution of modern civilisation. Mankind had to wait for 2,000 years before it picked up this simple practical common-sense. One wonders whether a like sense of toleration in politics will ever dawn upon the human mind, or we shall still be killing each other for faith.

THE PROBLEM OF CORRELATION BETWEEN EXCHANGE RATES AND EXPORTS [1]

By Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

The Theory of Inverse Correlation.

TOWARDS the end of September 1936 the franc was devalued in France and along with it the Swiss franc and the Dutch guilder. The obstinate "gold bloc" came thus in line with the off-gold countries. These devaluations constitute but the last stage in the process which commenced in October, 1931 with the United Kingdom (as well as India), and was taken up by the U. S. A. in March, 1933. Germany has not formally abandoned the gold standard. But as is well known, the privileges granted by Germany to her traders on the international market since 1934 constitute a factual 33% devaluation (*cf.* "Register-Mark," "scrips," and other facilities). Altogether, we have, then, another occasion for an investigation into the problem of correlation between exchange rates and the export trade.

In economic theory no generalization is perhaps more accepted as a universal postulate than that which seeks to render the exports of a country the *function* of its exchange rates. The alleged economic law can be formulated in two main parts as follows:

1. Higher exchange = −exports.
   = hindrance to and diminution of exports.
2. Lower exchange = + exports.
   = incentive to and expansion of exports.

In the business world of every country no economic law is more popular than as indicated in the above correlations which embody the facts of the fall in and stimulation of exports according to the rise and fall respectively of the rate of exchange. The correlation between exchange and exports is taken to be inverse.

---

[1] A paper for the Twentieth Indian Economic Conference, Agra, December 31, 1936-January 2, 1937.

It is the object of the present paper to examine the validity of this alleged correlation of an inverse character. We propose, therefore, to analyze some of the recent Indian foreign trade statistics in the perspective of the exchange rates.

It may indeed be conceded to deductive reasoning that as soon as the rupee becomes high compared, say, to sterling, the foreigner has to pay more in sterling for the Indian goods if the price be calculated in rupees. In other words, Indian goods become dearer to the parties that have to make purchases with sterling. The consequence should be a fall in the foreign demand, which is tantamount to saying that the exports will tend to diminish in quantity. This tendency to the diminution of exports on account of high exchange (which is sometimes an item in deflation) has indeed constituted the argument of all those economists and statesmen who in almost every post-war country—in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Germany, in France, in the Balkan States, in Italy, and even in England—advocated inflation (implying lower exchange) in order to furnish a stimulus to exports.

In " gold-exchange standard " countries like India (down to 1926) one might argue that the prices of export-goods are calculated not in the currency of the country itself, *i.e.*, not in rupees but in terms of the international medium of exchange, *viz.*, gold, say, dollar or sterling. And therefore as soon as there is high exchange the Indian exporters, in other words, as a rule the agriculturists, should have to be satisfied with a lesser number of rupees for the same amount of goods because sterling is low compared to the rupee.

Thus arguing, we should expect agriculture to be a less and less profitable concern and the agricultural output diminishing in quantity. The natural consequence to international trade should not fail to make its appearance. It ought to manifest itself in the tendency of India's exports to diminish.

We thus come to the same position as we had in the previous consideration. That is, whether the prices of Indian exports be calculated in terms of gold or in terms of rupee, a high exchange (*i.e.*, the command over a greater number of, say, pennies per rupee) should prove to be a damper on India's export-trade.

It should be observed at once that this speculative reasoning, Ricardian as it is, can be considerably neutralized bya nother argument, equally Ricardian. For as Truchy [1] puts it, *la prime à l'exportation ne dure que le temps nécessaire à l'adaptation des prix interieurs* (the premium on exports offered by the depreciation of currency does not last longer than the time necessary for the adjustment of internal prices). Besides, it furnishes to external sales but an artificial spur, the cessation of which may give rise to serious damages.

The Realities of Direct Correlation (1914-25).

In any case, Indian figures tell us that exports neither declined in volume, say, during the period 1914-25 nor did they yield a lesser and lesser number of rupees.[2]

The war-average in the export of grain (rice, wheat, barley, etc.) gave the figure 3,141,000 tons. In 1923-24 it rose to 3,429,000 tons and in 1924-25 to 4,260,000 tons. And the total rupee prices received by India, rose from 344,180,000 to 508,715,000 and 650,604,000 respectively.

The essential seeds were exported to the extent of 708,000 tons per year during the war-period, 1,177,000 tons in 1922-23, 1,255,000 tons in 1923-24 and 1,328,000 tons in 1924-25. And the rupee yields for the corresponding years were 121,742,000, 273,538,000, 298,172,000, and 331,685,000 respectively.

The total value of exports, again, does not indicate any tendency of decline. On the contrary, beginning with Rs. 2,159,670,000 per year during the war-period, it successively rose to Rs. 2,991,519,000, Rs. 3,488,301,000 and Rs. 3,846,653,000 in subsequent years.

The significance of these rises in exports in the currency-history of India will be clear if we place these increases in the figures (both in *quantum* and rupees) for exports in the perspective of the exchange-curve during the corresponding periods. All this time, as we are aware, the rupee was steadily rising in relation to sterling. From 16, 28/32 *d.* in January, 1923 it rose to 17, 17/32 *d.* in December, 1923, 18, 14/32 *d.* in December, 1924, and 18, 16/32 *d.* in December, 1925.

The situation, therefore, is curious. The exports increased both in volume and rupee-price at a time while the exchange was rising too. But our theory should lead us to expect quite the reverse, *i.e.*, an inverse correlation, in other words, a decline in exports with the rise in exchange. Should there have been any correlation between exports and exchange, it was not inverse as the " law" suggests, but direct.

---

[1] *Cours d' Economie Politique*, Vol. II (Paris, 1934), p. 131.

[2] *Review of the Trade of India in* 1924-25 (Calcutta, 1925), Tables Nos. 7, 28-41.

We encounter the statistical reality, namely, that the higher rupee was actually a stimulus to export or rather that the period of high exchange coincided with the period of increased exports. And we have to admit that the demand for India's goods abroad is not determined, if at all, exclusively by the rate of exchange. There are other and more weighty circumstances influencing the volume and price-movements of export-goods, which need not be gone into for the time being.

The paradoxical situation, namely, that even a higher exhange may be accompanied by the stimulation of exports is somewhat comparable to an important fact pointed out by Nogaro in *La Monnaie et les phénomènes monétaires contemporanies* (Paris, 1935).[1] Contrary to the expectations of the quantitative theory of money, says he, an increase in the volume of money in circulation may act as a stimulant to production and this increase in production *provoque une baisse des prix* (leads to a fall in prices). Instead of raising prices the enlarged monetary circulation may thus be the cause of their fall.

THE EIGHTEEN-PENNY RUPEE AND STIMULUS TO EXPORTS (1927-29).

Let us examine the situation in another economic conjuncture.

The eighteen-penny rupee was introduced in July, 1927, in the place of the " popular " sixteen-penny rupee. As a result of this measure the Indian cultivators' goods were not sold abroad in relatively less quantities than before. An analysis of the export figures of 1927-29 indicates rather that the exports increased in jute, cotton as well as tea. Besides, the export of those oil-seeds for which the demand in foreign countries is old and regular also showed some increase. During this period, then, also the correlation between exports and exchange was not inverse but direct.

The eighteen-penny ratio had been the *de facto* rate sinc September, 1924.[2] The regime of higher exchange had lasted five years when in September 1929 the crisis overtook the world-economy.

---

[1] L Baudin : *La Monnaie et la Formation des Prix*, Vol. I (Paris, 1936), pp. 478-79.

[2] *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1920-30 (Calcutta, 1932), pp. 316-17.

During this entire period the average monthly exchange was invariably above 18 *d.* The annual averages were as follows:

1925	18·14/32 *d.*
1926	18·8/32 *d.*
1927	18·9/32 *d.*
1928	18·11/32 *d.*
1929	18·11/32 *d.*

The behaviour of exports as well as prices under the "new rupee" may be examined in connection with raw cotton as well as raw jute. And for this it should be appropriate to study the curves previous to the world-economic depression. We find that in the *milieu* of the eighteen-penny rupee, *i.e.*, in the conditions of the so-called higher exchange the exports behaved quite favourably. The following table will exhibit the average figures for raw cotton [1] in three periods, (1) pre-war, (2) 1927-28, *i.e.*, the first year of the new rupee, and (3) 1928-29, the last pre-depression year:

	Bales exported (400 lbs. each).	Total value. Rs.	Price per cwt. Rs.
1. Pre-war ...	2,407,000	333,000,000	38-11-0
2. 1927-28 ...	2,686,000	477,000,000	49-11-11
3. 1928-29 ...	3,712,000	662,000,000	49-15·7

All the three curves for raw cotton,—*quantum*, value and price,—rose during that period. The three jute-curves of those days also told the same story of rise, thus:[2]

	Bales exported (400 lbs. each).	Total value. Rs.	Price per ton. Rs.
1. Pre-war ...	4,281,000	222,000,000	290
2. 1927-28 ...	4,995,000	306,000,000	342
3. 1928-29 ...	5,028,000	323,000,000	360

---

[1] *Review of the Trade of India in* 1928-29 (Calcutta, 1929), pp. 72, 161, 207, 225.

[2] *Ibid,* pp. 161, 205, 225.

Both in jute as well as in cotton, higher exchange (18 *d.*) went hand in hand with (1) higher exports in *quantum* and value as well as with (2) higher price per unit. No matter what be the theory, the facts of trade statistics demonstrate that both export and price curves moved in India's favour even under conditions of higher exchange.

It is of course patent on deductive grounds that the higher exchange ought to raise the prices of exports. The rise of prices, therefore, as demonstrated by statistics is quite in keeping with the demands of speculative economics. But the rise in the *quantum* of exports is at variance with *a priori* reasoning.

The index number of the prices of 28 exported articles repeats the same story of rise, as follows:[1]

1873	...	100	1927	...	209
1911	...	136	1928	...	212
1913	...	154	1929	...	216

The reactions of Indian prices as well as exports to currency are then clear. From 1927 to 1929 during the period of the statutory eighteen-penny rupee under pre-depression conditions exports rose as well as prices in comparison to pre-war conditions.

The World-economic Depression and the New Rupee (1929-32).

The diminution of exports was a universal phenomenon during the world-economic depression (1929-32). It may then be treated as having been in the main indifferent to exchange considerations, high or low. The impact of the " new rupee," therefore, may be left out of the consideration.

At 1932 the percentage decline in exports since 1929 may be seen for certain countries as below:[2]

A

Countries	Per cent.	Countries	Per cent.
1. Denmark	... 53	3. Netherlands	... 57
Belgium	... 53	Italy	... 57
2. Australia	... 55	4. New Zealand	... 58
Finland	... 55	Germany	... 58

---

[1] *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 1920-30 (Calcutta, 1932), p. 722.
[2] *World Economic Survey*, 1932-33 (Geneva, 1933) p. 214.

B

Countries	Per cent.	Countries	Per cent.
5. Irish Free State	60	Sweden	64
Japan	60	United Kingdom	64
Canada	60	Czechoslovakia	64
6. Brazil	61	Argentine	64
Greece	61	10. Mexico	65
France	61	Spain	65
7. Poland	62	11. Peru	67
8. Switzerland	63	12. Hungary	68
9. Jugoslavia	64	13. U. S. A.	69
Egypt	64	14. India	70

C

15. Austria	71	16. China	75
Uruguay	71	British Malaya	75
		17. Chile	84

Nearly three dozen countries sustained a decline in exports exceeding 50 per cent. in the course of four years. In five countries, namely, Chile, British Malaya, China, Uruguay and Austria, the decline was heavier than in India and ranged between 71 and 84 per cent. India's position, which is measured by a decline of 70 per cent., was almost identical with that of the U. S. A. (69%) and Hungary (68%). Six countries, namely, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, U. K., Sweden, Egypt and Jugoslavia each with a decline of 64 per cent. happened to be just a few points ahead of India. Nay, all those countries which are marked by a decline down to 60 per cent., namely, Irish Free State (60%), Japan (60%), Canada (60%), Brazil (61%), France (61%), Poland (62%), and Switzerland (63%) might be described as belonging almost to the same fraternity of adversity as Hungary, U. S. A., India and Austria.

All the same, it is worth while to observe that the trade balance of India was improving, as will be evident in the following statement of export surplus from April, 1930 to September, 1933:[1]

	Exports. Rs.	Imports. Rs.	Export Surplus. Rs.
1930 April-Sept. (slack season)	1,251,300,000	874,100,000	+377,200,000
1930-31 Oct.-March (busy season)	1,005,100,000	774,100,000	+231,000,000
1931 April-Sept. (slack season)	780,100,000	665,500,000	+116,600,000
1931-32 Oct.-March (busy season)	825,300,000	600,200,000	+255,100,000
1932 April-Sept. (slack season)	621,900,000	709,000,000	− 87,100,000
1932-33 Oct.-March (busy season)	734,400,000	616,800,000	+177,600,000
1933 April-Sept. (slack season)	726,900,000	554,800,000	+172,100,000

The trade balance of the slack season (April-September, 1933) was larger than that of the preceding busy season (1932-33, October-March). The improvement should appear to be remarkable in view of the fact that the corresponding slack season of 1932 was marked by a negative figure, imports exceeding exports. That half-year represented indeed the *nadir* of depression in the Indian economy. As it is, the figure for April-Sept., 1933 (Rs. 1,72,100,000) is considerably above that of the corresponding season of two years ago (Rs. 1,16,000,000).

The regime of the new rupee, then, was relatively speaking quite favourable even during the period of the world-economic depression. In other words, the correlation continued to be direct.

INDIA'S EXPORTS FROM APRIL TO AUGUST, 1936.

During the last decade (1927-36) the rupee-sterling ratio has not undergone any statutory modification. This is the decade of the eighteen-penny rupee. But bazar-fluctuations there have been. Let us exhibit these fluctuations for the five months of 1936 (April to August) in the background of the average rates for 1926-28. We get the following table:[1]

---

[1] Based on *Accounts relating to the Seaborne Trade and Navigation of British India* (Delhi) for September, 1932, and 1933. See *Indian Finance* (Calcutta) for November 18, 1933 and December 9, 1933.

Months.	Average for 1926 to 1928. (1)	1936. (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1).
April	17·28/32 *d.* per Re.	18·3/32 *d.*	+1
May	17·29/32 *d.* ,,	18·3/32 *d.*	+1
June	17·29/32 *d.* ,,	18·3/32 *d.*	+1
July	17·28/32 *d.* ,,	18·3/32 *d.*	+1
August	17·29/32 *d.* ,,	18·3/32 *d.*	+1

Comparative exchange statistics indicate a positive value for all months. In 1936 the rupee was invariably "higher" than during 1926-28 by one per cent.

We shall now examine at random the export-biography of a few Indian commodities with reference to this the most recent date (April-August, 1936).

The behaviour of raw jute in the export world during the five months, April to August, can be seen in the following table for 1936 in the perspective of that for 1926-28:[2]

Months.	Average for 1926 to 1928. (1)	1 . (2)	% Change (+ or −) of (2) over (1).
April	48,307 t	49,699 t	+3
May	40,647 t	52,290 t	+29
June	38,240 t	55,794 t	+46
July	32,690 t	53,874 t	+65
August	39,983 t	30,542 t	−24

In August, 1936, there was a decline compared to the situation in August, 1926-28. But during the other months there was an increase.

---

[1] *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India*, August, 1936 (Delhi, 1936), p. 286.

[2] *Monthly Survey*, etc., p. 270.

For raw cotton the comparison in export behaviour between the two years 1936 and 1926-28 is recorded below: [1]

Months.	Average for 1926 to 1928 (1)	1936. (2)	% Change (+ or –) of (2) over (1).
April	55,663 t	85,513 t	+54
May	51,705 t	71,173 t	+38
June	49,126 t	55,070 t	+12
July	41.864 t	52 600 t	+26
August	37,254 t	30,176 t	–19

In this instance also August 1936 marked a decline *vis-à-vis* August, 1926-28. But otherwise the story was positive.

In regard to hides and skins (tanned or dressed) comparative export statistics yield the following figures:[2]

Months.	Average for 1926 to 1928. (1)	1936. (2)	% Change (+ or –) of(2) over (1).
April	1,656 t	2,091 t	+26
May	1,694 t	1,895 t	+12
June	1,548 t	2,066 t	+33
July	2.147 t	2,044 t	– 5
August	1,995 t	2,396 t	+20

In 1936 the exports for July were somewhat less than those in 1926-28. But during the other months they were more.

The export-story exhibited by lac in 1936 (April-August) is shown below in the perspective of that in 1926-28:[3]

Months.	Average for 1926 to 1928. (1) Cwts.	1936. (2) Cwts.	% Change (+ or –) of (2) over (1).
April	40,000	49,000	+22
May	54,000	58,000	+ 7
June	64,000	65,000	+ 1
July	55.000	58,000	+ 5
August	54,000	50,000	– 7

With the exception of August when the percentage in relation to 1926-28 was negative the other months in question for 1936 gave positive results.

---

[1] *Monthly Survey, etc.*, p. 271.
[2] *Monthly Survey, etc.*, p. 273.
[3] *Monthly Survey, etc.*, p. 274.

We may take the whole-year views of the export-world for the depression and post-depression years. The behaviour of raw cotton, jute manufactures, raw jute and pig iron during the seven years (1929-36) is exhibited below: [1]

Years.	Raw Cotton in bales of 400 lbs.	Jute Manufactures (including twisted yarns) in tons.	Raw Jute in tons.	Pig Iron in tons.
1929-30	4,070,500	957,955	806,900	568,800
1930-31	3,926,100	766,649	619,600	439,100
1931-32	2,369,300	663,618	586,600	350,900
1932-33	2,062,800	679,745	563,100	218,300
1933-34	2,820,800	672,155	748,200	377,500
1934-35	3,490,300	684,718	752,400	417,100
1935-36	3,396,100	752,391	771,300	538,200

It was during the regime of the eighteen-penny rupee that the *nadir* was touched by the exports of raw cotton, raw jute and pig iron in 1932-33, and by that of jute manufactures in 1931-32. It was also the same regime of exchange which saw the recovery in the export-trade of those commodities,—after 1931-32 in the case of jute manufactures and after 1932-33 in the case of others.

It is possible to quote commodities whose export-biography is different from the facts placed here. Indeed, even the commodities described here exhibited months, as we have noticed, during which the results were negative.

It is not necessary to go into the export-biography of all the months of the year, nay, into the statistics of all the years. The student of statistics is already forced into an atmosphere where an invariable correlation of a particular type between exchange and export is the farthest removed from the economic reality. Even a higher exchange may run *pari-passu* with intensified or higher exports. In other words, the correlation may be direct, instead of being inverse. Should the investigation be carried on in regard to the leading foreign countries such as receive India's exports the result would not fail to be more or less similar.

---

[1] *Monthly Survey, etc.*, pp. 297, 300, 302, 305.

The impact of "other circumstances," *i.e.*, non-exchange factors in the economic *Gestalt* or form-totality of economic enterprises on the *quantum* and value of exports, would continue to be a dominant consideration. In the study of economic causation, then, exchange-monism like many other monisms in economics or other sciences is found to be wanting The relativity of currency-economics is to be pronounced as a sound doctrine both for economic theory and economic statesmanship.

THE OTTAWA AGREEMENT AS A NON-EXCHANGE FACTOR (1933-36).

Among the non-currency or non-exchange factors of the recent economic conjuncture is to be noticed the Ottawa Agreement of December, 1932.

The total exports rose from 132,4 crore rupees in 1932-33 to 151,2 crore rupees in 1934-35. The total imports remained almost the same coming down slightly from 132,5 crores to 132,2 crores.

In 1932-33 India sold to Japan, Germany and the U.S.A. 24·3 per cent. of her foreign exports. In 1934-35 the percentage rose to 28·8 per cent. In monetary value India's exports to these countries were worth 32,4 crore rupees in 1932-33. But in 1934-35 the value rose to 44,7 crore rupees. During the Ottawa period India has not lost her non-Empire markets. From the total of 54·6 the percentage has come down to 54·1 only. In other words, there has been no perceptible retaliation from the foreign countries.

In 1932-33 India imported from Japan, Germany and the U.S.A. 31·7 per cent. of all her foreign requirements. In 1934-35 the percentage came down to 29·7. In monetary value, however, India bought 42,2 crore rupees worth in 1932-33 from these countries. But in 1934-35 the purchase rose to 47,3 crore rupees. Individually speaking, both Japan and Germany have maintained their position on the Indian market. Germany lost only 0·2 per cent. while Japan gained 0·3 per cent. The Indian market is still open to non-Empire suppliers. The total reduction sustained by all foreign countries combined is 4·6 per cent. (from 55·2 to 50·6 per cent.). It may be pointed out *en passant* that it is this relative reduction that was one of the objectives of the Imperial Preference.

---

[1] *Review of the Trade of India* in 1934-35 (Delhi, 1935), pp. 181, 200, 201 (Tables 5, 9 and 10). See also the *Review*, 1933-34 (the corresponding tables).

India's imports from the United Kingdom rose from 36·8 per cent. in 1932-33 to 40·6 per cent. in 1934-35. This points but to the realization of the same objective.

During the same period India's exports to the United Kingdom rose from 28·0 per cent. to 31·6 per cent. This percentage is higher than the pre-war, war and post-war averages. The expansion of India's exports to the United Kingdom has been consummated, be it observed, without detriment to her exports to the non-Empire countries.

THE PLACE OF INVERSE CORRELATION IN INDIA'S EXPORT-BEHAVIOUR (1931-36).

Finally, it is important to observe that the "new Rupee" was not always "high" from 1927 to 1936 in relation to *all* the currencies of the world.

In September, 1931 the U.K.'s getting off the gold standard was tantamount to the depreciation or devaluation of the British currency, namely, sterling, in terms of the gold-standard currency. The linking of the Indian currency to the British implied (1) that the ratio of the rupee to sterling remained unchanged, *i.e.*, what it had been since 1927, but (2) that the Re. was devalued, *i.e.*, depreciated to the same extent as the £ in terms of the dollar, the Reichsmark, the yen, the franc and other gold-standard currency units.

While analyzing the relative expansion of exports during and since the depression of 1929-32 due value has to be attached to these devaluations. It is in the *milieu* of this fall of the £ st. and of the rupee that the industrial goods produced by the British manufacturers and the agricultural produce of the Indian cultivators were exported to foreign countries, it is to be noted, in relatively large amounts, of course, *within the limitations* of the world-depression.

The foreign countries, however, did not remain indifferent to the devaluations of the sterling bloc. Most of the countries followed suit as exhibited below for October, 1933 in three groups:[1]

I. Gold-parity 65-80 per cent., *i.e.*, currency-depreciation 20-35 per cent.

---

[1] *Währungsübersichten Oktober* 1933 (Deutsche Bank, Berlin) ; *World Economic Survey*, 1932-33 (Geneva 1933), pp. 222-223 ; *Review of World-Trade* 1932 (Geneva, 1933, p. 30 ; *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (Washington. D. C.), June 1936, pp. 429-30 (Annual Report of the Bank for International Settlements, 1935-36).

Cauntries.	Gold-parity. %	Countries.	Gold-parity. %
Austria	77·95	Egypt	65·09
Jugoslavia	76·97	United Kingdom	65·09
Hungary	72·36	Ireland	65·09
Portugal	68·20	Esthonia	65·06
U. S. A.	66·45	India	65·05
Canada	65·43		

II. Gold-parity 50-65 per cent., *i.e.*, currency-depreciation 35-50 per cent.

Countries.	Gold-parity. %	Countries.	Gold-parity. %
Sweden	61·11	Finland	55·54
Argentine	59·90	Denmark	52·48
Norway	59·50		

III. Gold-parity 35-50 per cent., *i.e.*, currency-depreciation 50-65 per cent.

Countries.	Gold-parity. %	Countries.	Gold-parity. %
Colombia	... 48·30	Spain	... 43·39
Brazil	... 46·18	Japan	... 38·28
Greece	... 44·08		

The devaluation of the rupee was equal in amount to that of the pound. But in regard to the other currencies (extra-British) these devaluations (gold-parity 65 per cent.) were only nominal or relative, effectively counteracted as they were by larger or smaller doses of depreciation instituted by the different countries (from Sweden with 61 per cent. gold-parity down to Japan with 38 per cent.). Competition in devaluations between country and country was so keen as to prevent virtually every country from enjoying any effective devaluation.

In any case the stimulation to or increase of exports from India after September, 1931, may have to be attributed in part at any rate to this relative devaluation or lower exchange. To this extent the correlation between exports and exchange was inverse as the law should lead us to expect. In India's export-behaviour, then, the place of inverse correlation cannot be altogether ruled out as out of the question.

The devaluations of October, 1936, in Europe are to be recognized as constituting some more factors affecting or counteracting the relative devaluations of the sterling bloc. It should be observed, however, that, elastic as they happen to be, they range as a rule between 25 and 35 per cent.[1] The extent of devaluation, *e.g.*, of the French and Swiss francs is not greater than that of the pound sterling and the rupee as indicated in the tables.

Leaving the phenomena of the last few weeks out of the picture we may then formulate the proposition that, in the first place, exports cannot be interpreted as but *functions* of exchange-rates alone. Tariff, quota, barter or-compensation business, clearing agreements, strategic alliances, industrial "autarchy," credit insurance, and many other items in economic planning constitute the non-exchange factors to which also the exports react in a functional manner. And secondly, the correlation between exchange and exports, in so far as it is a reality, is not all inverse. There is a great deal of direct correlation to be emphasized in the analysis of export-behaviour.

---

[1] *Midland Bank Monthly* (London), October-November, 1936 (Is the World Nearer the Gold Standard?), pp. 1-2. See also the *New Monetary System of the United States* (National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1934), pp. 95, 103 and *Federal Reserve Bulletin* (November, 1936), pp 878-881.

HELP TO VILLAGE INDIA

J. S. AIMAN
National General Secretary of Y. M. C. A., India, Burma and Ceylon.

NOWADAYS, when the term "Rural Reconstruction," is spoken almost daily, from some platform or other, we are apt to become tired of hearing of all that has been done in the past, and what should be done, in the future, in this particular type of work.

It is my proud privilege, to tell you, *what is being done, right now,* by the Y. M. C. A. Rural Workers in different parts of India.

In any case, to look back on the past, in any connection, is to invite, usually, a sense of regret ; to look to the future, is to cherish hope ; but to dwell on the present, is to arouse interest.

My *real* desire is not only to arouse your interest, but, I hope, to retain it.

You will realize, it is impossible, in the short time at my disposal to give a complete survey of *all* the various activities of the Y.M.C.A. in the rural world. Therefore, I have chosen these which I believe will have the greatest interest for you, and I wish it to be clearly understood, *that I am telling you of work I have seen in actual progress, and with which I am fully acquainted.*

We have five centres in thoroughgoing working order. All of these have a common aim, namely, to improve the living conditions of the villagers and enable them to be self-supporting, as well as to familiarize them with the basic principles of co-operative living.

Self-help is strongly advocated, and is encouraged by means of demonstration and by the expert advice given to every villager who comes into contact with any one of our workers. Our work does not confine itself to the centres alone, but is far-reaching in its effectiveness, as each centre serves from twenty to thirty villages.

One of the most important services rendered to India, is the practical training given, at our Summer Schools, to rural workers, both men and women, who, after a period of expert training, are fully equipped not only to commence work for themselves on a self-supporting basis, but they are able to demonstrate to their own villagers, in a practical way, the principles and methods of rural work and their applicability to their particular area.

Do not imagine, however, that a man or woman need only undergo a course of training to become a first class rural worker—far from it. The essential requirement is, that he or she, must be capable of creating, and more important still, of *maintaining*, a rurally-minded community in the place where he or she intends to work. In order to achieve this, one has to be oneself, absolutely convinced that the economic salvation of India lies in the teaching and training of the rural population, new ways and methods of utilizing their resources. Almost the entire rural population is illiterate, therefore it is a useless waste of time to give lectures, lantern shows, etc., without the practical side. The old phrase of Rousseau, the Educationalist, holds as good as ever to-day, particularly in relation to rural work. It is, "*Learn by doing.*" This is the principle of the Y. M. C. A. in their work among the inhabitants of village India.

Cottage Industries.—In the initial stages of rural work, theoretical discussion has little value, therefore it is our policy to teach by demonstration, the real worth of which is shown by the results of our cottage industries, of many and varied types.

Poultry.— To begin with poultry, the villager is encouraged to cross his own hens, with cocks of purely bred white leghorns, from the centre. If he has no hens of his own, he is lent or given some by our workers, with whom arrangements are made to collect the eggs. The villager, instead of selling his own eggs at a low rate, brings them to the co-operative egg-markets established in each of our centres and there he is paid twice the price of the local market price for his eggs, thus enabling him to gain a decent profit, and, what is more, later on he receives additional bonus from the profits of the Co-operative Society. He is shown how to improve his poultry by housing them properly, and by suitable feeding. He is given seeds of the evergreen plant, which is part of the poultry food, to plant and raise in his own backyard or small patch of ground. Here are a few illustrations, for you, of this profitable industry, (1) an ordinary country hen owned by a villager produced on the average 18 eggs per year. When crossed with a pure-breed cock, one generation showed an amazing difference, for the daughter of this cross, laid eighty eggs in four months: (2) A pure leghorn kept by a villager laid 312 two-ounce eggs in one year, *i. e.*, about 39 lbs. of eggs, which is ten times her own weight, namely, 4 lbs. (3) I met some boys and girls who regularly bring eggs to our market. They are able to pay their school fees from the profits of their egg-selling.

Basket weaving.—For those who are too poor even to keep poultry, there is the weaving of palmyra baskets for the shipment of eggs. You will be interested to learn that this cottage industry provides the means of earning money, to the very lowest castes, and has now become a complete industry in itself, as our orders from all over India for products demand a large supply of baskets.

Bee-keeping.—An equally important cottage industry is the keeping of bees. Now that the old-fashioned and unprofitable method of once a year breaking up old pots hung in trees and slaughtering the bees wholesale, has been replaced by modern methods, villagers find bee-keeping not only profitable but simple. Until the Y. M. C. A. organised bee-keeping, most of the honey was stolen from the wild bees. The villagers are taught to transfer their bees from pots to modern hives where the production of honey is doubled several times as a result. Villagers are taught how to extract the honey, which is marketed to their profit, by our centres. During my tour of our centres, a young man came to me and proudly exhibited a new bicycle which he had bought from the profits he had made by bee-keeping, while others detailed sums they had saved as a result of this industry.

Paper bags.—The making of paper-bags for shopkeepers is another source of money-making, bringing the worker from four to eight annas per day, working in leisure, and from twelve annas to one rupee per day, working eight hours.

String balls and tailors' thread.—Likewise the production of string balls and tailors' thread is found a profitable activity for leisure hours.

Fly-paper.—One of the newest cottage industries is the making of fly-paper, which is produced in equal quantities to the local market ware, but, at one-fifth of the local market price, needless to say, there is no "stickiness" in the sale of this production!

Bed tape making is an old favourite and easily marketable. This industry can be carried out also by children as it is a very simple process.

Brooms are made by the Harijans and provide them with a means of adding to their meagre income.

Palmyra umbrellas are slowly and surely becoming another source of supplementing the villagers' earnings.

Fruit and kitchen Gardens.—Another type of cottage industry is the keeping of fruit and kitchen gardens, the majority of which are behind the dwellings of the villagers vegetable and flower seeds are distributed and trees planted. The villager is given expert advice and help in the planning of his garden, in the raising of his vegetables and flowers and in the care of his fruit trees. The vegetables produced are Indian and English of all kinds, according to the area. Flowers are produced for decoration and for bee production. Antignon being specially suitable for bees, is a strong favourite and, in addition, goes far towards the beautifying of village gardens. Some of the most profitable fruits are, pineapple, papaya, tomatoes, guavas, plantains and custard apples.

Fodder grasses of various types are also cultivated with much success.

Cashew nuts and Palmyra sugar find a ready market, the latter being distinctly profitable since it is cheaper than ordinary sugar, while the former has a large mail order from the markets all over India.

General Activities.—At all centres, improvement in cattle, sheep and goats is encouraged by the loan of the services of pure-bred stock, which in every case has resulted in superior animals. Villagers are taught the best methods of obtaining and utilizing good, clean milk, *e.g.*, by giving proper fodder diet and keeping the animals clean, and of making ghee. Both milk and ghee are marketed through the services of our centres on co-operative lines.

Weaving of durries, sarees, towels, shawls, table and bed-covers is taught and in one centre, textile printing and dyeing have been introduced, the dyes being vegetable dyes produced locally.

Our workers do not solely content themselves with their efforts to improve the economic standard of the villager. They are also deeply concerned with the physical, moral and mental welfare of the individuals with whom they work. To carry out the necessary improvements in mental, moral and physical health, they have introduced a number of changes from the old ways among which are, the introduction of cheap glass windows in all dwellings, and also cheap chimneys, and at the back of every house whose owner comes into contact with our centres or their workers, there is to be found a soak pit, which collects all waste poducts, including accumulated dirty water.

Hygiene in various forms is introduced by means of lectures and magic lantern, as well as by practical demonstration. Dispensaries are maintained at each centre. There is also a training school for midwives and workers in child welfare, who, after a period of training, go out to their respective villages, to demonstrate the advantages of antiseptic methods, of work ; even barbers are trained how to sterilize their razors, and etceteras. This service is one of the real and valuable contributions of our Rural centres.

Library.—On the Educational side, the villagers have access to books stocked in the village *library,* and night schools are run for the benefit of adults who have missed chances of schooling in childhood. Both are very well-attended.

Music and drama.—By means of *music and drama,* the principles and advantages of rural reconstruction are brought out. Organised games, with and without equipment, are a feature of every centre and not only children, but adults too, take part in those games.

Way-side pulpits also play their part in our rural reconstruction programme. On these are exhibited posters which show clearly, step by step, the progress made in various rural activities, if the modern methods of the centres are followed.

What we ourselves could do.—Before starting any rural centre, a survey must be thoroughly made, in order to dermine the real economic conditions of the inhabitants concerned, and this survey should be the forerunner of a well organised scheme of rural reconstruction, which will supply the needs of even the poorest inhabitant. No matter how well-thought-out a scheme may be, and no matter how suitable the chosen area, success will not be achieved, as I have already said, unless the man who undertakes the leadership in this work is himself rurally-minded. I mean by that, he must first undergo a thorough and complete training, in all branches of rural activity, and be one who is willing to identify himself with the interests of the villager. If possible, he should come from the village, or at least, from the area within which the new centre is to be established.

On the site chosen after thorough investigation, he should do several things *only after his training is completed.*

He should open a small poultry-yard with a few superior hens and a cock. Then he should arrange for the distribution of setting eggs on some specific arrangement. He should set up two or more modern bee-hives for trial, and he should form a co-operative society of cattle breeders, with a view to improve the cattle and to organise co-operative marketing of milk, butter and ghee.

A reading-room and a library should be started as early as possible (he will realize the value of this during his period of training).

Then arrangements should be made for lectures on relevant subjects such as Co-operation, Hygiene and Sanitation, and Modern Methods of Agriculture.

He should endeavour to introduce a hand-loom into every cottage, and he ought wisely to make a thorough exploration of all those cottage industries, which have fallen into disuse, and set about their revival.

I cannot sufficiently emphasise what I feel to be almost the most important factor in Rural Reconstruction, namely, that the success of such a venture largely depends on the man selected for training.

Our endeavour is to show by example of our centres, what can be done by utilising in the best way all the agricultural resources and folk-crafts of the villages of India, in order that they might bring additional income to the villagers and contribute to making the villager self-supporting.

To-day, the influx of village dwellers to the cities is mainly due to lack of exploration by responsible authorities of resources available in the villages and the failure of putting them to proper use.

To a certain extent, we can solve our unemployment problem and substantially cut down the number of workless, if we are conscious of the village of a number of real possibilities that are even now available at the villages and waiting to be used by us. Another point we should care in mind is, that we cannot carry out any useful moral or spiritual service to the villager unless and until we give him sufficient food to eat. To quote the words of the late Mr. K. T. Paul, who was the pioneer of rural reconstruction work in India, " Economic salvation is the first fundamental step, towards the moral and spiritual regeneration of India." Therefore, it must be our aim to focus our work primarily on this point, so that the villager gains the maximum benefit from any rural service rendered to him. Automatically, a well-fed, contented villager becomes a good and worthy citizen. If we enter into our work in that spirit of real service, I am certain that we shall carry confidence and secure co-operation everywhere.

If I have stimulated your interest in the Indian villager and his life, sufficiently to enable you to give serious thought and attention to his needs at the present time, I will have fulfilled the duty I imposed upon myself.*

---

* Lecture delivered at the Indian Christian Association of Bengal.

LABOUR IN JUTE MILLS

A Study in its Composition.

TARAPADA CHAKRABARTI, M.A.

IF a foreigner visits the jute mills of Bengal, he would probably be first struck by the predominant non-Bengali composition of the labour force. We are accustomed to seeing much of our manual work in the city and towns done by non-Bengalis and do not seem to attach any importance to the matter. If, however, it turns out on examination that there is ample Bengali labour available, which does not get employment due to competition from outside, the conclusion becomes inevitable that there is serious drainage of the province's funds and injury to local labourers under the present system. On the other hand, if we find that the Bengali labouring classes have become incapable of hard work, and prefer light work and poorer pay to heavy work and better pay, it must be diagnosed as serious demoralisation on their part. The non-Bengali character of most of our labouring classes is thus a thing of great social importance which requires careful analysis.

During the past few months there was acute distress in many districts of Bengal. Even in normal times, numbers of people can be found here who live just on the verge of starvation. *Vis-a-vis* this state of affairs, does it not look strange that hundreds of thousands of non-Bengalis are earning their bread in Bengal by manual labour, either unskilled or demanding very little skill ? And this inroad of outside labour extends everywhere and in every occupation of the city and moffusil, public and private, industrial and agricultural, in factories and in domestic establishments.

In this matter of non-Bengali employment, the jute mills, as has been mentioned above, occupy an important position. These mills are the biggest employers amongst all types of industrial concerns in the province. Taking the normal year of 1929, which just preceded the depression, we find the factories of Bengal, perennial and seasonal, employing a daily average of less than six lakhs of labourers. Of these about three and a half lakhs were absorbed by the jute mills alone. As the Whitley Commission remarked, of this number less than a quarter was Bengali, which meant that more than two lakhs and a half were non-Bengalis. They consisted of all sorts of people, Madrasis, Oriyas, C. P. and U. P. men, and even Chinese. Most of these labourers hailed from a distance, often several hundred miles from Bengal.

Regarding the labour trouble in jute mills in 1929, the Committee of the Jute Mills Association reported that the loss in production due to the temporary closing of mills resulted in a loss of value estimated at Rs. 170 lakhs representing 64 million yds. of hessian and 52 million yds. of sacking, which could not be produced owing to strikes. The loss in wages to the labour force was more than Rs. 27 lakhs. Now, during the year preceding the strike, the jute mills exported manufactured jute to the extent of about Rs. 56,90 lakhs. Allowing for the value of twists and yarns, and for the fact that the mills in these normal years produced more than they exported, we can safely suggest, in the light of the strike figures, that the total produce represented wages to the extent of about Rs. 900 lakhs. Of this amount, the share of non-Bengali labourers was in the vicinity of Rs. 700 lakhs, which reveals the extent of loss to the would-be Bengali employees, in so far as they were available.

After they have purchased the necessariss of life, the labourers generally send money home to their families for their benefit, or in liquidation of debts contracted, or spend it on silver ornaments for their womenfolk. The remittances by themselves constitute quite a big sum. The total of money orders issued by the post offices serving the Calcutta jute mills, amounted in 1929 to more than Rs. 176 lakhs. There is little doubt that, of this, Rs. 130 lakhs was sent out of the province during 1929. Millions of rupees continue in this way to leave Bengal every year, not excepting the recent years of depression. During 1933, when employment in the jute mills was reduced to the lowest, Rs. 140 lakhs was remitted by the mill hands through post offices. That meant more than a crore of rupees being sent out of the province by non-Bengali mill operatives even in a year of acute depression.

On top of these postal remittances, there is the extensive practice of sending money home through co-villagers when the latter leave for home after working from some time in the mills. There is no account of this sum, but it can be fairly estimated that it extends to several lakhs.

A reference to the history of the labour supply in jute mills would prove interesting in this connection. The industry dates from 1855 when the first machine spinning mill was erected at Rishra near Serampore. But the real expansion of the industry began with the eighties of the last century. The first year of that period, *i.e.*, 1881, saw 5,000 power looms at work in Bengal. Thereafter the industry developed by rapid strides, and notable changes were *pari passu* observed in the matter of labour supply. As a Government report on labour in Bengal, dated 1906, states, during the mid-eighties of the last century all the hands working in jute mills were Bengalis ; but during the year under report, *i.e.*, 1906, two-thirds of the mill hands were found to be immigrants. The Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 states that in the years of its investigations 90 per cent. of the labour in jute mills was imported from outside the province. A census was taken in 1902 by the managing agents of four mills in Garulia, Bhadreswar, and Titagarh. Another census was taken by the same managing agents in the same areas in 1916, the number of mills having in the meantime increased to seven. The result showed 28 per cent. Bengali workers in 1902 and only 10 per cent. in 1916. The shortage had been supplied from the Northern Circars. No wonder, the Commission remarked that " the Bengali is taking a smaller and smaller share in the openings for manual labour created by the mills."

The fall in the relative proportion of Bengali labour from 100 per cent. to 30 per cent. within a couple of decades is anything but reassuring ; and the further shrinkage to a bare 10 per cent. within the next brief spell of ten or twelve years, is even more disquieting. It is a happy sign that since then the conditions are slowly improving. As the Whitley Commission (1929-31) remarks, " in recent years they (*i.e.*, the Bengalis), more than most Indian peoples, have been realising the possibilities which industry offers to skill, and their numbers are steadily increasing in the skilled rank and in the lighter types of factory labour ; but in the jute mills they constitute less than a quarter of the workers." This is not satisfactory, to say the least ; all the same, the improvement in employment percentage from 10 to 25 per cent. within a decade, is certainly a welcome development.

The principal reason why Bengali labour was ousted from its old position and could not take its legitimate share in the widening avenue of employment created by the expanding jute industry and the new mills, was competition of cheap labour from outside. First of all came the Beharis and U. P. men whose standards of living are comparatively low, and later on came the Oriyas, the Madrasis and C. P. men (specially from the Bilaspur area) who came from greater distances no doubt, but having still lower standards of living, had an advantageous position in bargaining for employment at lower wages. In addition to their low standards of living and the consequent satisfaction with smaller wages, the outside labourers have the advantage of greater power of endurance than the Bengali operatives, and better aptitude for harder work. When once the ingress of imported labour started, circumstances arose to keep up and stimulate it further. The jobless and indebted poor people from these distant places were attracted in ever-increasing numbers by the example of their co-villagers who worked in the mills and prospered. The jobbers and *sardars* appointed by the mills helped the process, because they grew rich by the money paid to them by the labourers seeking employment. These are the reasons why the sources of this outside labour have, more often than not, been from certain localised areas and why particular classes of labourers predominate in particular mills.

While these factors helped outside labourers to capture employment in the jute mills, certain other factors prevented the Bengali labourers to bid for these jobs, which thus quite smoothly slipped into the hands of the former. It is a well-known fact that the Bengalis have less inclination for factory work than other Indian peoples. Thus, when with the expansion of the industry there followed a scarcity of labour in the local market, the employers had no other alternative than to recruit from distant fields. Another reason why the local men did not go in for employment in factories was that their "economic position was not such as to make the terms offered by the industry attractive." This is the cause to which the Whitley Commission traces the lack of Bengali labourers for these works and the consequent distance of supply of jute mill labour in general. " Of the jute mills " remarks the Commission, " it may be said that, if a circle of 250 miles radius be drawn round Calcutta, the great majority of the workers come from outside the circle."

Various causes account for the lack of inclination on the part of Bengali labourers for factory work. It has already been stated that the wages offered did not prove attractive to the Bengali labourers in their existing economic position. Secondly, life in the factory, and specially in the slums, was rather repulsive to them. This is still so, and whatever Bengali labour now work in the mills is very local in character, the men living in their own homes and daily coming to the mill for work. The type of work in the factories is also very hard for the Bengalis. The writer found from personal enquiries that many Bengali manual workers in jute mills left soon after appointment for no other reason than the hardship attending their work. And the slight increase in the number of Bengali employees in the jute mills that has been taking place recently is mostly confined to the skilled ranks and to work of a lighter nature.

It is also a fact that while factory life is not to the taste of Bengali workers, the monotony and the drudgery of factory work, besides its hard nature, also serve to repel them. The real wages of jobs in their native places, which allowed them home comforts and other amenities at less expenditure, further dissuaded the natives living at some distance, from joining the mills.

Bengal being naturally more fertile than the adjoining provinces, there was always in the past a lack of landless people in large numbers in Bengal as opposed to these provinces. While there was much surplus labour to be found in the latter due to this fact, Bengal had rather occasional scarcities of it. With the increase in population, the landless classes have now been increasing here, and so also the number of persons wanting employment in factories. But still in the sowing and harvesting seasons, we have a relative scarcity of labour, even for agricultural purposes. While the number of the landless was small, there were available other means of livelihood, which further reduced the number of those seeking employment in mills.

The cumulative effect of all these have been that labour in Bengal's jute mills has been mostly manned by non-Bengalis. The circumstances are now changing and Bengalis are now-a-days taking more and more to work demanding skill and giving better pay though they still prefer works involving lighter labour. The most potent reason for this is the intensely increasing pressure on land, helped by the slump in prices of agricultural produce. These are surely disquieting problems, but when we cannot help them we can at least derive consolation from the fact that they have made us look back to the fields we have lost through neglect and lack of initiative, *viz.*, the fields of trade and industry; and all our attempts should from now be directed towards recapturing these in the rôles of both employees and employers,

SCHOOL OF PRINTING—ITS POSSIBILITIES IN INDIA

G. C. SEN, B.SC.

PRINTING, if not the greatest, has certainly been one of the greatest factors in the evolution of the modern world out of the medieval one. Knowledge which was formerly confined to the churches alone has been brought within the reach of all and has been growing from more to more. The result of this diffusion, as we all know, has been tremendous and the progress that the world has made within these few centuries far outweighs all developments that preceded it. In the art of printing itself there has been revolutionary changes the world over. In the United Kingdom the industry now stands fourth in importance.

Looking now to the condition prevailing in India, we are faced with a gloomy and dismal picture. The machineries, the type faces, the system of making half-tone and colour blocks are mostly old and antiquated. The result is an enormous drainage of money to foreign countries for printing of books and other things to be read and used in India. Figures are appalling.

The expenses for printing of books (including maps and charts) outside India were—

		Rs.
1932-33	—	46,37,677
1933-34	—	49,32,514
1934-35	—	51,88,463.

The share of Bengal was—

		Rs.
1932-33	—	17,73,972
1933-34	—	18,85,236
1934-35	—	19,54,171.

In the case of colour prints we find that in 1934-35, pictures to the value of Rs. 3,58,220 were imported from foreign countries.

The figures speak for themselves. They are conclusive proof of our utter helplessness. Do we all know that the posters we daily see in the streets are mostly printed outside India ? Are we aware that the calendars that we see hanging on the walls of the rooms are mostly printed in foreign countries ?

The reason for all this is the dead weight of inertia and what is more important, our want of enthusiasm due to ignorance of the art. Ignorance, again, is due to the absence of proper facilities for training. High-class printing firms are rare and there is a great deal of trade secrecy in them. Only a limited number of people can have the opportunity of getting into a first class press and even then the Master Printers are sometimes responsible for their negligence in leaving the training of the workers up to a certain standard. There is some practical experience, some working knowledge, but no theory to work on and develop. The result is that although a man is engaged in the industry for the major part of his life, performing the same routine work day in and day out, he can add little to any improvement of the industry. He becomes just another machine without life and initiative. He has worked much but has learnt little.

The ordinary presses—and there are about 1,000 such in Calcutta alone—are as impervious to any light from outside (the methods are so antiquated and old-fashioned) as are the machine rooms where workers are huddled together.

The real reason of this stagnant condition is the absence of institutions that can cater for the needs of the printing trade. The figures we have quoted above shows, beyond doubt, that the printing of books is increasing every year. What is wanted is technical perfection resulting in better quality and assimilation of new methods that are as yet foreign to this country. It is only in schools that we can develop a cultivated taste which we may apply with profit in the industry. The design of the cover page, the proper way of setting types, the art of spacing the letters, the proportion of margins in the back, fore-edge, head and tail, the proper dressing of cylinders, the use of overlay, interlay and underlay are things to be learnt not in the works but from able teachers in technical schools. The absence of delicate shades in most of the half-tone blocks speak unmistakably of the absence of that fine aesthetic sense, that artistic touch, that judicious blending of theoretical knowledge and practical experience which go to the making of a successful printer. And in proportion that a school has been able to infuse this " sense " into its pupils, it may be said to have proved a success. Type foundry also is a subject which may be learnt in these schools with much profit. Indian type faces and English type faces cast in India are unfortunately not comparable with foreign types in regard to their alignment and delicacy of strokes. The result is that type faces alone were imported in 1934-35 to the extent of Rs. 1,41,902. Could we not stop this huge but unnecessary drainage of Indian money ? Is not this single fact sufficient to disarm all criticism on the score of expenditure ?

With a view to a satisfactory co-ordination between theory and practice the London School of Printing was established in 1917. The committee members are drawn from every class interested in the line. There is an arrangement with the employers by which students passing out of schools can have their up-to-date theoretical knowledge backed up by practical experience and workshop hands can join the schools to have their practical knowledge broadbased on up-to-date theories. There is thus ample scope for study and research and the practical application of them in the trade itself. This arrangement has also solved to some extent unemployment for the trained and has raised the art of printing to such a standard of efficiency as to drive out all foreign competition.

In the printing line there is no scope for foreign competition. It cannot be a localised trade depending on particular natural or other conditions. It does not depend on things from outside. It can never be a monopoly in the hands of a few. It can thrive in any country where knowledge has a tendency to spread and where trade and commerce flourish.

Is not it a shame that with so many thousands of unemployed clamouring for bread, we have been depending on foreign countries to supply our demands? Here, at least, is a field where educated young men may find ample opportunities for useful employment ; and provision, in the shape of technical schools, must be made to ensure proper training for them.

It is desirable from all points of view that the crowding in one sphere of employment should be avoided as far as possible. When this industry provides a means of minimising the number of unemployed and opens new avenues to us, why should we not avail ourselves of the opportunity ?

It is necessary that the real needs should be brought to the notice of those responsible for the uplift of the industry as a whole. The question of improving it can no longer be shelved without incurring the inevitable risk of further poverty, unemployment and consequent misery and discontent.

NEW CANTS FOR OLD

SADHAN KUMAR GHOSE

I. A. Richards writes in his " Science and Poetry " that over whole tracts of natural emotional response we are today like " a bed of dahlias whose sticks have been removed." The sticks are our beliefs. In his note on T. S. Eliot's " The Wasteland " he adds that a sense of desolation, of uncertainty, of futility, of the groundlessness of aspirations, of the vanity of endeavour and a thirst of life-giving water are the signs in consciousness of this necessary reorganization of our lives. Eliot has given a perfect emotive description of the state of mind which is probably inevitable for some time to come.

This state of mind is a state of complete unbelief. We have few permanent values left. The few that survived the war have been done away with by the psycho-analysts. The important question is whether this despairing stage is at last over and whether it is now possible for the artist to discover a system of values that are not purely personal but objective and social.

The trend of contemporary history, so far from giving us direction has not even the merit of being obvious. It does not provide an attitude. We have to adopt an analytical attitude towards it. We may, for example, think of current history simply in terms of the war. This is a time when any one who is anxious to avert a protracted world war will have to work very hard to undermine the whole system of armed alliances. *Ergo*, we must make some choice beyond our merely private joys and sorrows. It is not possible for a modern to live entirely in the present. It is so chaotic. We have to look either before or after.

It is not a question of sticks for dahlias. It is a question of what in the widest sense is going to be the social and political subject for writing. The days of literature having only a coterie appeal are over. It is no longer possible to satirize a small clique of literary dilettante. Literary fascism goes with political fascism. A belief in freedom and justice means that one must write about the moral life of one's time. The precise difficulty is to write about this moral life in a way that is significant. The emphasis of a realistic tradition is entirely on externals. A mention of any other kind of realism is suspect. The case of Yeats may be cited. He is a poet who has buttressed and shored up his world on every side. He tried to exploit his limited powers of observation. George Moore has described how Yeats would walk about the country without ever looking at anything. The visual experiences of his life which have found their way into poetry can be counted on the fingers. The Tower, the moorhen, the wild swans at Coole, the winding stair have all the same significance in Yeats as Cats and Negresses have in Baudelaire's poetry.

The reader is perplexed. He has been told that Yeats' poetry is all mystery and twilight and that he dare hardly listen lest he disturb the fairies. "Tread softly, for you tread on my dreams." To his disappointment he hears the fairies' song grow fainter and fainter. The reader realises that the fairies were mere pegs to hang something else on. The fact is that Yeats, in spite of his romantic façades, never quite escaped from the realistic tradition.

"We can no longer permit life to be shaped by a personified ideal. We must serve with all our faculties some actual thing."[1] The actual thing is the true moral or political subject that must be realised by contemporary literature. Any other art will tend to become a "Personified ideal." The weakness of D. H. Lawrence lay here. He wrote about a kind of life which was serious and real; but whereas he meant to write about the life around him he tended to write only about himself. He searched for values and finally invented a way of life that did not betray those values. But this was the outcome of a personal struggle and the result was dangerously close to the "personal idea."

Imagists like Richard Aldington seem to have thought that the creation of a beautiful image cannot be isolated from experience and the external world. The Lady of Shalott committed the same mistake. An imagery must be true so that it may convince. Images are not still-lifes to be hung on walls. The position of writers who are anxious to serve some " actual thing " is therefore worth considering. Cecil Day Lewis has said

---

[1] Preface to "Words upon the Window Pane."

> " The innocent wing is soon shot down
> And private stars fade in the blood-red dawn
> Where two worlds strive.
> Move then with new desires,
> For where we used to build and love
> Is No-man's land and only ghosts can live
> Between two fires."

The poet confesses that two worlds exist and are fighting. The striving worlds are obviously intended to represent the class war or at all events the rivalry between revolution and reaction. Neutrality is impossible. The poet evidently takes sides for " only ghosts can live between two fires."

The poem, then is not only about communism. It has a propagandist touch. It cannot avoid a controversial note and the simplification of issues might seem premature to many. But the importance of the poem is that it deals with realities. The poet is half-sick of shadows. The struggle between the two worlds is real and the material of the poem is life.

The chief claims of Communism is that it is materialist. The materialist conception of history makes the reader feel that he is moving in a world of reality, not groping in the dark.

Lastly, it is only decent to remember that perhaps the most fundamental of all beliefs illustrated by drama and poetry, in all history is the idea of Justice. We have become conscious of great Social injustice, of the oppression of one class by another and " what man has made of man."

The danger of Day Lewis' Communism is that he adopts the too facile formula regarding the world as a madhouse. He expresses a philosophy, as soothing as a tablet of cafiaspirin. The peculiar kind of experience which his poetry offers is inorganic and which is sometimes irresponsible and evasive. It is a mistake to suppose that his poetry is entirely one of ideas. It is a chameleon poetry which changes its colour with ideas which it is set against. But life is in the Chameleon, in the poetry itself and not in the ideas which are seen through it. It is a poetry of life which deals in ideas but is not swayed or ruled by them.

Since Mr. Cecil Day Lewis is a generation younger than Mr. Wells he cannot possibly share his frayed optimism about the effects of the growth of the scientific knowledge. He sees the loathsome sort of world which it produces. Hence his mounting pessimism. Hence also his tendencies to join the machine-wreckers. He is the last great historian of the Heartbreak House of Capitalist Culture.

The stream continues unbroken. The fads of yesterday are replaced by the foibles of the morrow.

THE POETRY OF YOUTH

CYRIL MODAK, M.A.

WE turn to poetry when we find correctness incorrect in the cumbrous definitions of prose which make unfamiliar and remote our most intimate experiences. We turn to poetry when we suddenly come upon ourselves in that pose of elderliness which is the natural outcome of constant contact with elderly minds. We turn to poetry when the soul pants for the ambrosia of unutterable things. As Tagore says,

> "From the heart of the fathomless blue comes one golden call and across the dusk of tears I gaze at thy face and know not for certain if thou art seen."

Or again,

> "I am restless, I am a-thirst for far-away things ;
> My soul goes out in a longing to touch the skirts of
> the dim distance............
> O far-to-seek, O the keen call of thy flute."

Or as Chattopadhyaya says,

> "Thrill me with radiant rapture, O love ;
> of your ravishing flute,
> Folding my silence in song, and my
> sorrow in silver eclipse ;
> Shaping my heart into flower, and the
> flower of my heart into fruit
> Meet for your orchards of light, and
> the touch of your luminous lips."

It is for such thrills of insight that we turn to poetry.

Racial and temperamental characteristics differ and there is a corresponding difference in the dominant note in the poetry of different peoples. Greek poetry may be called the poetry of tragedy ; Celtic poetry, the poetry of mystery ; English poetry, the poetry of adventure. So Indian poetry may very aptly be characterized as the poetry of youth. We are born of young parents. We marry young. We die before we are old. Our poets drink the nectar of unaging youth from the hands of Love, and spurning the mature fame of the epic bard, they plead rapturously,

"My Love ! Once upon a time your poet launched a great epic in his mind.

Alas ! I was not careful and it struck your ringing anklets and came to grief.

It broke up into scraps of songs and lay scattered at your feet.

If my claims to immortal life after death are shattered, make me immortal while I live ?"

The Indian poet is not sober enough to want posthumous fame. He wants immortalizing love while he lives. In fragments of melody he sends his secrets to the Beloved ; and is glad.

A lyric is the melodious utterance of a joy or a sorrow with the spontaneous urgency of laughter or tears. It is a song of the heart capturing the emotional and imaginative intensity of a moment of moments. Meant originally to be sung, the lyric acquired a wizardry of phrase to summon vivid images before the listener's mind. On the printed page sometimes this quality seems as out of place as a rose's blush painted on the word. But in truly great lyrical poetry the ardent fusion of imagination and emotion creates an atmosphere in which Beauty communicates itself only through symphonic extravagance. The very extravagance breaks into a thousand gleams to light up a feeling or a thought with iridescent suggestiveness.

Lyrical poetry is the poetry of lyric spring. Indian poetry is essentially lyrical. Life is predominantly lyrical in India. Even the fair wheat-grinder behind barred doors fills the silence of early dawn with snatches of song ; and the tanned half-clad labourers on the railway tracks work to a rhythmic chant. The passionate music of spring-time that fearlessly welcomes with outstretched arms the killing heat of summer, and the melancholy melody of the rains are in the very blood of the Indian poet. He says that if he allows his heart to grow old and wrinkled who will sing the hushed ecstasy of lovers' glances ; who will make immortal the speechless joys and sorrows of youth ; who will interpret the language of the stars and the flowers, and the mystic courtship of life and death ? The pageant of the seasons with its grandeur and its gloom and the pilgrimage of life with its heat and dust and moonlit joys awaken in his heart a throng of exquisite feelings ; and he postpones growing old.

His youthful imagination wooes each thought, fancy, feeling, or experience until it unfolds its richest fullest beauty in a profusion of unexpected glimpses. Indian poetry captures these furtive glimpses in caresses of symbolism. Indian poetry is rich in sensuous imagery. "The poet's mind floats and dances on the waves of life amidst the voices of wind and water." His songs are therefore songs of the joy of life, of the triumph of life, of the sheer, grand, exuberant loveliness that life makes possible. His songs are songs of heroic youth.

He cries—

"Thy music is for those who will not flee
The noise of strife:
Let every fibre of my being be
All vibrant with thy beauteous melody,
Joy-kindling Life!"

Let me hasten to explain that by the poetry of youth I do not mean the moon-struck ravings of adolescence. Youth is an attitude. Adolescence is a biological stage. Youth is an attitude which rescues age from itself and endows it with the hopes and graces, the wistful expectancy and eager faith which make youth so beautiful, so poignantly inspiring, so utterly and perpetually indispensable. Youth is an attitude of sacramental loyalties. All through Indian poetry there is the vitalizing touch, the animating beauty of the spirit of youth. So Chettur says,

"O mortal beauty irreconcilable,
Changeless, yet ever changing mystery,
Retaining at rare times all hearts in fee,
Subduing, sweet, and tantalising still,
What in thy glory may we here devine?
A hope? A longing? Nay, a certain sign!
A sign that of the living whole, we make
A part incorporate, however small;
A fragment of the passion that doth fall
In sudden splendour upon hill and lake;
A symbol, a remembrancer to awake
The sleeping godhead to a memory
Of what has been and what again shall be:
And still the heart's intolerable ache.
Nay more; a pledge, renewed from hour to hour
In song, in love, in dream, in children's eyes,

Writ on the laughing heavens, the sorrowing sea ;
Sealed on the morning face of every flower,
And, even as the rainbow in the skies,
A covenant of God's integrity."

This must seem daring to those who have trustingly yielded to first impressions and decided that Indians are passive and unambitious. And it may even seem strange to those who confuse pugnacity with victoriousness and sigh at the resignation and fatalism of the Indian, to be told that Indian poetry throbs with the ardent pulse of triumph. Behind the resignation like a fringe of light, imperceptible to eyes dimmed by electric glare, there is a calm assurance of ultimate victory. In the myths and legends, in the tales of the epics, in the ballads and romances, in the dramas, in the lyrics of love and devotion one can catch the overtones of triumph. When the *amrit* is recovered from the churning of the ocean there is a menacing upheaval of poison.

" Then had earth and sky been blasted,
Then the seven oceans blazed,
Had the flaming torrent lasted—
While the gods in stupor gazed—
But that Shiva, strong in aiding,
Drained himself the fatal draught ;
While the throat-stain never fading
Shows how fierce a cup he quaffed."

Drought afflicts the land, and the poet's fancy pictures Indra slaying the demon of drought. Poetical incidents are created to portray the triumphant soul mastering every mishap and obstacle, subduing evil, pain, suffering, and death itself. The Pandavas defeat their wicked cousins. Rama rescues Sitā from the *Rakshas* of Ceylon. The Yaksha in exile detains the cloud-messenger and sends his message to the beloved.

To give it the most captivating emotional atmosphere this heroism is depicted in the heroines. Sita makes her brave decision,

" If the righteous son of Raghu wends
to forests dark and drear,
Sita steps before her husband
wild and thorny paths to clear ;

* * *

And the wild fruit she will gather
from the fresh and fragrant wood,
And the food by Rama tasted shall be
Sita's cherished food! "

Or that daring lover, Nala, is cheated out of his kingdom and has to seek shelter in the forest with his beauteous queen. Is she dismayed ? In the hour of exile she says to Nala,

" Shalt thou be conquered of a human fate
My liege, my lover, whose imperial head
Hath never bent in sorrow of defeat ?
Shalt thou be vanquished whose imperial feet
Have shattered armies and stamped empires down ?
O King, what fate shall dare uncrown thee from this breast,
O god-born lover, whom my love doth gird
And armour with impregnable delight
Of Hope's triumphant, keen, flame-carven sword ?

Or Savitri, that most intrepid of women, makes her choice,

" Long his life or be it narrow, and his virtues great or none,
Satyavan is still my chosen, he my heart and troth had won.
What a maiden's heart hath chosen that a maiden's lips confess."

But that was only the beginning. When Yama, the monarch of the land of shades, is taking away Satyavan's life she follows him with matchless fortitude to win back her husband's life. And even Yama finally yields. Love triumphs. Satyavan is restored to life.

It is the same reminiscence of unvanquished youth that quickens the heartbeats of Kabir, the weaver-poet of Benares, to sing,

" Dance, my heart dance today with joy.
The strains of love fill the days and nights with music
And the world is listening to the melodies.
Mad with joy, life and death dance to the rhythm of this music,
The hills and the sea and the earth dance.
The world of man dances in laughter and tears.
Why put on the robe of the monk and love aloof in lonely pride ?
Behold: my heart dances in the delight of a hundred arts ;
And the Creator is well pleased."

The levity of wanton criticism has misrepresented the victorious soul of Aryavarta, a soul which has kept its triumphant buoyancy-like a sheltered flame, through weary and menacing centuries of suffering, injustice, and wrongs, which, in conspiracy with the enervating heat of the tropics, should have withered the sturdy optimism and vaunted courage of the conquering races of the earth. It is in India that out of the dust of defeat and sorrow a Taj Mahal rises, to make imperishable a tear-drop of love. It is out of this heritage that Sarojini Naidu utters her challenge to fate and out-Henleys Henley,

"Why will you vex me with your futile conflict,
Why will you strive with me, O foolish fate ?
You cannot break me with your poignant envy,
You cannot slay me with your subtle hate.
For all the cruel folly you pursue
I will not cry with suppliant hands to you,
Say, shall my heart lack its familiar language
While earth has nests for her mellifluous birds ?
Shall my impassioned heart forget to sing
With the ten thousand voices of the Spring ?
Though you deny the hope of all my being,
Betray my love, my sweetest dream destroy,
Yet will I slake my individual sorrow
At the deep source of universal joy......
O fate, in vain you hanker to control
My frail, serene, indomitable soul."

It is the same confident attitude of youth that says,

"To see
When tides of pain have rolled
Love's purposes unfold,
And hold
Love's hand through grim defeat,
And with that joy to greet
And meet
The madness of the sea
And conquer ;—'t is victory
To be
Aspiring through, the gloom,
Till flowers of hope entomb
Our doom ! "

It is the same jubilant spirit of triumph that breathes through Tagore's flute many a sweet song. He says, " Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song ; the joy that makes the earth flow over in the riotous excess of the grass ; the joy that sets the twin-brothers, life and death, dancing over the wide world ; the joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter ; the joy that sits still with its tears on the red lotus of pain ; and the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust and knows not a word."

It is not a nervous optimism that evades the bewilderingly tragic and knows nothing of pain and death. It is a gladly triumphant mood that inspires the poet to peer through the dark and lonely night to catch the least, faint gleam of inevitable dawn. And then he proclaims, " Rejoice ! For night's fetters have broken, the dreams have vanished ; light's greetings spread from the East to the West, and at the ramparts of the ruined prison rise the paeans of Victory :" The shafts of light have shattered the prison of darkness and out of the ruins rise the paeans of Victory.

With an unquenchable dream in his eyes and an unutterable song in his heart the Indian poet drinks ' life to the lees.' He learns from nature the secret of her glamorous beauty. He tastes the ravishing joys of self-giving love and devotion. He sings entranced of the Vision Beautiful.

" To be alive—in star-domed shrine of night
Keep sleepless vigil like some Rajput knight ;
To revel in the wine
Of loveliness benign,
Till steeped in beauty O ! the spirit burns
To ravish but one glimpse of God, and turns
From that brief hour divine."

He proclaims that life is a divine dower of alluring possibilities. As Mrs. Naidu says,

" For my glad heart is drunk and drenched with thee
O inmost wine of living ecstasy !
O intimate essence of eternity ! "

Or in the very presence of human suffering Harindranath Chattopadhyaya can sing,

" Blind and quiet boy of the poor ;
I too will close these eyes of fire ;
And feel a kind hand open a door
To some divine desire.

* * *

We shall be blind and quiet and poor,
Forgetting the gloom of the world and the gleam,
And hear each moment an infinite door
Opening on an infinite dream,"

The invitation of the blossoming groves and fragrant forests of, rippling streams and stately hills, meets a ready response in the heart of the Indian poet,

"Let us lie 'neath the palms where perchance we may listen and reach
A delicate dream from the lips of the slumbering sedges,
That call from the stars some high tone of their mystical speech."

As early as the Vedic hymns and the Epics there is ample evidence of the poet's delight in nature, a delight which is not merely sensuous but philosophic, leading to the exhilarating assurance of the existence of all-pervading Reality. Aurobindo Ghose says,

"A golden evening, when the thoughtful sun
Rejects its usual pomp in going, trees
That bend down to their green companion
And fruitful mother, vaguely whispering, these
And a wide silent sea, such hour is nearest God."

The Vedic poet says, addressing Usha,

"From afar, from afar,
Dost thou harness thy car,
Beyond the bright sunrise;
As thy course proceeds
On thy purple steeds,
Thou gladdenest mortal eyes."

The dawn, symbol of fresh beginnings, gladdens the human heart, bringing, as it does, the earnest of newer hope, fuller joy, completer realization.

Another Vedic hymn says,

"Morning comes, the nurse of all,
Like a matron at whose call
All that dwell the house within
Their appointed task begin;

Now each warbler shakes his wings,
And to greet her coming, sings."

The seasons yield their own harvest of pleasure. Kalidas writes a whole "Calendar of the Seasons." He says of Autumn,

" The autumn comes, a maiden fair
In slenderness and grace,
With nodding rice-stems in her hair
And lilies in her face.
In flowers of grasses she is clad ;
And as she moves along
Birds greet her with their cooing glad
Like bracelet's tinkling song."

While another Sanskrit poet says of Spring,

" O youths and maidens, rise and sing !
The koil is come who leads the Spring;
The birds that were sleeping his voice have heard,
And the tale is borne on by each nesting bird,
The trees of the forest have all been told.
They have donned their mantles of scarlet and gold."

The song of the koil stirs the poet's heart and like the trees of the forest his branching fancies have 'donned their mantles of scarlet and gold.'

Or as another says,

" These ancient trees like monks at prayer
In silent adoration raise
Unuttered hymns of speechless praise ;
The moon waves incense everywhere,
And fills the air."

Intoxicated with the light of an Indian sun, Rabindranath Tagore says,

" Light, my light, the world-filling light, the eye-kissing light, heart-sweetening light ; the butterflies spread their sails on the sea of light. Lilies and jasmines surge up on the crest of the waves of light."

Or Monmohan Ghose follows the butterfly,

" Of all shy visitants I love
That darling butterfly,

Whose wings are to the cornfield's wave
A hovering reply."

Through these communings with nature the Indian poet comes by that delicacy of feeling which can say in the words of G. K. Chettur,

" Tread lightly on the dewy grass,
So sweet and fresh beneath;
For every blade that God has made
Like you and me doth breathe!
Tread softly on the dewy grass,
Star-daisied on the green,
And have a care lest here and there
You crush a star unseen."

From such lavish devotion to nature the poet's resurgent love turns to the Beloved. As Fredoon Kabraji says,

" Where her two lips
Meet or part,
Leaps all my heart
Like the swift ship's
Lurch on the lucent wave—
Past peril and the grave."

Or as Kalidas, that master-craftsman, says,

" When evening comes, the shadow of the tree
Is cast far forward, yet does not depart,
Even so, beloved, whereso'er you be
The thought of you can never leave my heart."

Or again,

" The perfumed lotus-chain
That once was worn by her,
Fetters and keeps my heart
A hopeless prisoner."

The speech is Dushyanta's. He is speaking of the fair Sakuntala. A discerning critic like Ryder would bear me out that no other poet, in any land or golden age, has sung of gloriously happy love between man and woman with the same delicate lilt of universal youth as Kalidas sang. Every one of this eminently great poet's works is essentially a love-poem. He sings of love which is rapturously triumphant in the end though struggling against external obstacles for a while. This note of triumph sounds clear in all of his poems ; indeed, in Indian poetry from the Vedic age to the present era of Rabindranath. Always it is life meeting death with invincible courtesy. It is victorious love ever singing suffering into immortal spheres. It is always beauty triumphantly transfiguring the actual into the ideal. As Chattopadhyaya says,

> " He is finding for ever his infinite fullness
> In blossoming buds and the withering flowers.
> He shapes through the heart of the world his Ideal
> So white in the midst of the many-hued hours."

It is because of a richly mystical quality in his love that the Indian poet is capable of singing to some human embodiment of beauty and love songs so impassioned and deliciously extravagant, so full of the poetry of youth.

> " My heart, the bird of the wilderness,
> has found its sky in your eyes.
> They are the cradle of the morning,
> they are the kingdom of the stars.
> My songs are lost in their depths."

As Tagore says. Or as Manmohan Ghose says,

> " Be but your silent self, and you
> Are poesy, the theme
> And source exhaustless of all song ;
> You are your poet's dream."

Out of the age-old tradition of Indian poetry Chettur says,

> " So we, the proud inheritors of lcve,
> Grown God-like in *unmortal* ecstasies
> Dream God-wise, of a day that love shall prove
> Magnificently, in the after years,
> Beyond the mortal touch of time and tears."

Love is the eternal affirmation that obliterates all question marks, pointing to its own miracle as an answer to life's mysteries,

Or with a more vivid imagination Chattopadhyaya says,

> " Cast in the shadowy depths of my being
> your love, like a spark,

Fan it to magical flame till my
dead heart burst into fire ;
Wave like a censer my dream of
devotion, O love, through the dark.
Turn into tumults of incense my
richly-pulsating desire! "

Love is the consummate response of the whole personality in an act of self-donation to the utterly Beautiful.

To the Indian poet love is the fontal reality, the supreme good, the all-permeating beauty. The burning sunrise spreads abroad the message of love ; and spring comes in her gorgeous colours to celebrate the festival of youth and love. And the poet pleads in the words of Tagore, " Let thy love play upon my voice and rest on my silence. Let it pass through my heart into all my movements. Let thy love like the stars shine in the darkness and dawn in my awakening. Let it burn in the flame of my desires, and flow in all the currents of my own love. Let me carry thy love in my life as a flute does its music, and give it back to thee at last with my life."

Or N. V. Tilak boldly proclaims,

" Yet once again I tell thee – life and love,
These are not twain but one, for love is life;
And to lose love is to be surfeited
With nothing else but self, which is to die."

Thus conceived, love is the expression of the vital urge for ampler life bursting the bounds of isolation, straining for union with the highest we know.

A certain uncalculating, unhesitant, joy-winged abandon gives to Indian poetry the right to be called the poetry of youth. Tagore says,

" I was musing last night on my spendthrift days, when I thought you spoke to me,—' In youth's careless career you kept all the doors open in your house. The world went in and out as it pleased—the world with its dust, doubts and disorder—and with its music. With the wild crowd I came to you again and again unknown and unbidden. Had you kept shut your doors in wise seclusion how could I have found my way into your house ? ' "

Thus the voice of Love spoke to the poet. We, who forge sectarian locks and fashion academic keys to shut our doors in wise seclusion and sit within amusing ourselves with jig-saw puzzles of analysis and synthesis, miss the Eternal Beauty, the Supreme Reality of which Tagore speaks, of which Indian poetry speaks.

Gazing into the distance the Indian poet says,

" I know not what wine of wild poppy I have drunk that there is this madness in my eyes. There are eyes that smile and eyes that weep, and there is madness in my eyes."

It is the madness of an endless quest for Beauty, the madness of eager youth eagerly seeking the Beloved, the superb madness that can defy time and fate and, " trust love even if it bring sorrow," the divine madness that makes heroes, saints, poets of men and transforms the world into a nobler, happier, brighter, more beautiful place for us. Until at last we become more and more keenly aware that,

" Our dreams and longings cover deeper dreams
And longings in the silence far away."

MODERN MOVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE

SIR JOHN RUSSELL, F.R.S.

IN order to understand the modern movements in agricultural science it is necessary to know something about those from which they developed. In science, as in other human activities, the present grows out of the past, and no movement can be fully appreciated unless its history is known.

From early days scientists in the West were very interested in plant growth and some of the oldest experiments in science were made to find out how plants grow and what they are made of. The 17th Century Chemists had only simple means of analysis ; usually they distilled the plants and found that they obtained water, some oil, charcoal and mineral matter, and they speculated a good deal as to the part these play in determining plant growth. For may years also farmers had experimented on their own account independently of the scientists, and had discovered that certain substances added to the soil increased the growth of plants. Chief among these substances was farmyard manure, the discovery of which is extremely ancient in Europe and in India, though curiously enough the native African cultivators do not seem to have recognised its value. Western cultivators discovered very early the value of lime, bones and organic manures, and so far as supplies could be obtained these substances were used to increase the growth of crops. Until about 100 years ago, the position in Europe was that scientists were making experiments in their laboratories, and farmers were growing crops by purely empirical methods, but the scientist and the farmer never met so that science did not penetrate to the farm or the village and the laboratories and the villages were entirely separate. That was the position in Europe a hundred years ago and it is still the position in some countries outside of Europe.

Great changes came about in Europe in agricultural science about a hundred years ago. It was a time of intellectual activity in other subjects also, but probably more marked in relation to plant growth than in any other direction in natural science. Three men were largely concerned. The earliest was a French scientist, Boussingault, who as a young man had made adventurous voyages in South America, then returned to France about 1830, married the daughter of a landowner and went to live on her estate. There he set up a laboratory on the farm, and applied chemistry to the farm problems. Some ten years later the famous German chemist Liebig turned his attention to agricultural chemistry and wrote the first scientific treatise on the subject. At the same time, and quite independently, an English landowner, John Bennet Lawes of Rothamsted, inherited an estate badly encumbered by debt, and realised that science could help him out of his difficulty. So he set about making scientific experiments to discover how to increase his yields. He had the singular good fortune to discover artificial fertilizers and sufficient ability to devise means whereby he could manufacture them on a large scale. He, therefore, set up a factory for this purpose and was so successful that he not only paid off his father's debts but soon amassed a fortune for himself. So the marriage of Boussingault, the genius of Liebig, and the debts of Lawes' father, played a great part in introducing science to the countryside of Europe.

In Western Europe the problem is entirely different from what it is here in India. Rainfall is usually abundant and evaporation is low. Plant food tends to be washed out from the soil and consequently it has to be renewed by addition of manures. There is in Western Europe very little of the problem of water supply which plays so important a part in India. On the other hand the problem of plant food supply is very important. For many years, therefore, European agriculturists concerned themselves with this question of feeding the plant, trusting to Nature to give it the water it needed ; and they were generally right.

At the outset scientists concerned themselves only with the major food of plants, *i.e.*, nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium and calcium, and they discovered means whereby these could be prepared in cheap forms and used with great advantage on the farms. These plant foods are supplied in compounds called collectively " Artificial Fertilizers." They are made in enormous quantities and something like 35 million tons a year are used in the temperate regions of the world, largely in Europe and the United States, but increasing amounts are consumed in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Japan and South America: some of the islands, *e.g.* Mauritius, use them intensively. Experiments in warmer countries—parts of India, the Sudan, Egypt and other countries—have shown that wherever water supply is adequate, the plants benefit from one or other of the artificial fertilisers.

Having settled the question of plant food and taught farmers how to increase their crops, scientists in Europe turned their attention to plant diseases. These were often very serious but they were relatively few in number until means of transport developed. In the days of sailing ships, when journeys from one country to another might take many weeks or even months, plant diseases and pests had little chance of being carried about the world. But since steamships were introduced, journeys have been greatly shortened and pests are easily carried from one country to another. One of the first was the introduction of the potato disease " Blight "—caused by the fungus *Phytophthera infestans* into Ireland about 90 years ago. In Ireland potatoes form a very large part of the food of the people. There had always been some disease but nothing serious ; then about 90 years ago, when transport was speeded up by the introduction of steamer, this terrible disease was brought from South America and ruined the potato crop for several years in succession causing an appalling famine which brought hunger and even starvation to a great number of Irish peasants. Many died in the famine and many more lost all that they had. No one knew the cause of the disease, nor how to deal with it. The magnitude of the danger caused scientists to investigate the question and gradually plant pathology was developed as a subject; it is now brought to a high standard both in Europe and in India and much is known about the nature of plant diseases and the agents that bring them about. Plant diseases may be caused by insects, fungi and bacteria and by those curious agents known as viruses, the nature of which is not yet well understood though their effects are sometimes devastating: diseases may also be caused by the lack of something necessary for healthy growth. The causes of plant diseases are thus very much the same as the causes of human and animal diseases ; the important practical difference between plant disease and human or animal disease is, however, that the cultivator cannot spend more than a certain amount of money on each of his plants and in the case of crops like wheat, gram or ordinary agriculture plants, the amount available for individual plant is extremely minute, so that the remedies have to be very cheap. The horticulturist is a little better off as he is dealing with trees that have greater value so that the expenditure can be larger, but in no case can anything like as much be expended as on a human being or even an animal. In these circumstances the best way of dealing with plant diseases is to avoid them by keeping the plant healthy. The scientist working on agricultural problems therefore proceeds very much like the medical officer in charge of public health: he studies the conditions that lead to healthiness of the population and tries to secure these; he also finds out what conditions lead to disease and shows how to avoid them. Adequate food supply and good cultivation lead in Europe to strong and healthy growth which enables the plant to resist a good deal of disease though this is by no means an infallible way of keeping plants healthy; insects and fungus diseases may still come along and attack even the healthiest plants: indeed some insects rather prefer healthy plants. Fortunately the insect can usually attack the plant only at one stage of its growth and usually also the plant is susceptible to attack only for part of its life. The insect has to be ready to attack and the plant has to be susceptible to the attack, otherwise nothing very much happens. One successful method in plant pathology consists in discovering the exact conditions under which the two organisms—insect and plant—are ready for each other. If by altering the date of sowing or by other means the plant can be got through its susceptible stage before the insect is sufficiently developed, then it can be saved from attack. This method has been successfully used in a number of cases, for instance, certain diseases of barley, cotton and a number of other crops.

Like many other scientific discoveries relating to plant growth the basic fact is well known to cultivators, and when I was recently at Nagpur I was told that ryots are reluctant to sow wheat until the ghee solidifies, *i.e.*, till late in the season. The plant pathologist has recently discovered that if it is sown earlier it is liable to foot-rot.

One of the most hopeful methods however of dealing with plant diseases and pests is to select varieties of plants resistant to them. Probably there is no such thing as absolute immunity but plants carry in their susceptibility to attack, and plant breeding has now developed to so high a pitch of perfection that the breeder can modify the plants to a considerable extent to suit the cultivators' requirements. Plant breeding however is by no means a mechanical science; there is a large element of artistry about it. Successful breeders like Luther

Burbank, Sir Albert Howard, and others have had the great gift of picking out plants likely to be useful and the rarer gift of choosing those likely to be useless and rejecting them. It is possible to train plant breeders up to a point but the very best work is done only by men who are born to it, just as the best pictures are painted only by born artists. So it has come about that varieties of wheat can be produced which are resistant to rusts, cotton can be obtained resistant to Jassid, sugarcane resistant to the various borers. None of these properties can be created ; they exist already in certain varieties but the plant breeder has learnt to transfer, within certain limits, a property from one plant to another.

Indeed the development of plant breeding some 30 years ago transformed the whole of agriculture and converted an empirical art into an exact science. Prior to that time new varieties of crops could be obtained only by accident. Some of the best known varieties in the world, such as Red Fife wheat and Chevalier barley were obtained simply as a result of accidental observation by a farmer that a particular plant growing in the field was superior to its neighbours.

About 35 years ago, however, an English scientist, the late Sir William Bateson, discovered quite by accident a paper written in the middle of the 19th century by a monk, Gregor Mendel, but published in a very obscure scientific journal, in which were described some fundamental experiments that enabled the new science of plant genetics to be founded. Many sctentific papers have like this one lain buried for years before their merit was discovered and it is tragic to think how much good work may still lie buried in the journals which no one ever takes down from the shelves of the library. As soon as Mendel's paper was found his experiments were repeated and developed and now an elaborate scientific structure has been developed, the papers which are often so difficult that few people can profess to understand them. Some excellent work has been done here in India by Mr. J. B. Hutchinson of Indore in which the principles of genetics have been developed and applied to the breeding of cotton and some valuable scientific results have been obtained.

For indigenous crops it is frequently sufficient to select the best of the strains already growing. No crop is ever quite uniform ; in walking through the field one can pick out some plants as being better than others. The first step in the discovery of new varieties of an old established crop is always to search the ryots' fields and collect as many good strains as can be found. A good deal of this kind of work has already been done but it is probably still true to say that there are better strains awaiting discovery in the ryots' fields than have yet been picked out by agriculturists. There are great possibilities for young scientists to study plant material on the cultivator's land and in travelling round India I have repeatedly felt that there are many discoveries lying in wait for a man who will go out into the fields in the hope of making them.

In India crops are closely adapted to their surroundings and the strains of varieties that are best in one place are not necessarily the best in another. For example in parts of the Central Provinces and parts of Bengal, the Pusa wheats No. 4 and No. 52 are among the best available ; while in Indore these same wheats do badly and are easily beaten by others. Sugarcanes bred at Coimbatore, in the Madras Presidency, and standing out there as exceptionally good, may not succeed in the North ; hence the necessity for the sugarcane research work at places like Karnal, Muzaffarnagar and others.

The search for improved varieties by selection from indigenous crops is a long and tedious business but it is one of the safest ways of increasing the output from the land. There are still considerable possibilities of improving the ordinary ryot's crops—Juar, Arhar, Gram and others. Although the processes of selection are mechanical, the methods and technique have a scientific basis and it is very desirable that the principles on which the work is to be carried out should be further investigated.

It is not sufficient, however, simply to find or breed improved plants. It is essential also to give them more food in order that they may make full growth, for it is as true of plants as it is of animals that improvement effected by breeding does not persist unless the food also is improved. Unless the fertility of the soil is raised the full value of the plant breeders' work can never be obtained. In Indian conditions the chief factor determining the fertility of the land is the water supply available to the plant ; it must be enough but not too much, and, unlike the foods supplied by fertilisers which can be given once for all to the plant, the water supply must be given regularly every day. In India daily additions are possible only on irrigated land, but the soil has a wonderful capacity for holding water and storing it during many months ; under suitable conditions it can hold enough water to supply the plant for the whole of its growth.

The quantity of water needed by the plant is enormous; 300 to 500 lb. of water for each lb. of dry matter in temperate regions, whilst here in India the measurements made by Dr. Leather at Pusa some 30 years ago showed that some crops, *e.g.*, linseed, needed more: oats required the usual 300-500 lb. but linseed needed 600-1000 lb. In regions hotter than Pusa even more water would be needed, for the plant, like ourselves, keeps itself cool in hot weather by transpiration.

The amount of water needed is vastly greater than the amount of all other foods put together ; the nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, calcium and all other mineral elements added together amount to less than 1 ounce for producing one lb. of dry matter.

One of the most important subject awaiting investigation in India is a full study of the relation of the soil to water. It is known that the soil is the store house of water, but it is not known exactly how the water is stored. Some is held in the pore spaces between the soil particles, some is in the crevices in the particles themselves, some is held by the soil colloids. Professor Mukherji's investigations in the College of Science are giving valuable information about the chemical nature of the soil colloids ; parallel work is needed on their physical properties. Scientific experiments have proved that the dry layer which forms during hot weather on the surface of the soil protects the store of water from loss. Here again the ryot has anticipated the scientist, for he has found by experience that in ploughing the soil he must keep this top layer on the top and not allow it to become buried so exposing the moister layers of soil below. The peasant's plough has been devised to stir the top soil but not to bury it, and any one attempting to improve the plough must achieve the same object.

The soil however does not deliver up the whole of its water to the plant ; it is like a bank that pays back only a part of the money put into it. The soil particles attract and hold water and the plant roots do the same ; the soil is pulling the water one way, the plant pulling it in another. The supply available to the plant depends not only on the total amount present in the soil but also on the pull which soil and plant can exert ; in a sandy soil the plant exerts the biggest pull and consequently can suck out nearly all the water, but on heavy clays, as in some of the black cotton soils, the soil exerts so great a pull that the plant can obtain only a part of the water and so may wilt when even a large amount is left behind. Dr. Leather showed that plants grew when 25 per cent of water remained in the black cotton soil, though they could grow in Pusa soil till the water content was reduced to 10 per cent. Dr. Schofield at Rothamsted has recently studied this question and shown how to measure the pull exerted by the soil ; he has devised a scale for measuring this corresponding to the pH scale used for measuring the soil acidity. He calls the new scale pF and these measurements are as important for the water relationships of the soil as the pH measurements are for the acidity and alkalinity.

The pull exerted by the soil particles on water affects not only plant growth but also the movements of water in the soil itself. Where the pull is only small the water moves about easily ; irrigation water may do harm by causing waterlogging unless great care is taken to regulate the supply. Many soils of this character contain salt near the surface, and though this may be sufficiently deep not to affect plants under natural conditions it is apt to come up to the surface as soon as irrigation water is added. These salt movements are little understood but their effect is serious. They lead to the formation of Usar and of alkaline soil thereby causing much loss to cultivators.

In temperate conditions, as in Western Europe, the power of the soil to hold water is much affected by the presence of organic matter in the soil and this has led to the belief, which is often well founded, that any plant material added to the soil will have this effect. Hence the great faith of agriculturists in organic matter as a soil constituent.

Every organic chemist knows, however, that the term "organic matter" is extremely vague and there is need for careful field work on the effect of the so-called organic manures on plant growth and on soils, especially on the relations of the soil to water. In practice three methods of increasing the organic matter of the soil are adopted: green manuring, addition of cattle manure, and addition of composts. The effects are complex: each of these methods adds not only to the colloid material of the soil but also to the nitrogen supply. Methods of study are however known and it is possible to separate the two effects.

Until recent years it was deemed sufficient for a scientific worker to remain in his laboratory carrying out experiments and publishing the results in scientific journals. It was quite necessary that these experiments should have any relation to the life of the community. There is a story of a distinguished professor who at the end of a long life of study thanked Heaven that he had never done anything useful. In these days it is recognised that the scientific worker has a responsibility to the rest of the community and that he must play his part in trying to solve the difficult problems with which the nations are now confronted. Students of agricultural science and agricultural experts have special responsibilities to the ryot, the man who cultivates the fields and produces the food without which we should all soon starve. The time has gone by when the ryot could be given a bare minimum of subsistence and merely kept alive to work from childhood to old age. In these days the advantages of science cannot be restricted to the towns. They must penetrate into the villages. This is one of the greatest problems that lies before you. So far as I have seen them the Indian ryots possess a great deal of inborn shrewdness and they are quite willing to see what science can do. They will not, however, be content with mere lectures or talks however brilliant or entertaining; they require to see with their eyes on their own land the supposed advantages of the new methods. The success of improved varieties of wheat, sugarcane, and cotton, shows the ryot is willing to adopt new methods when he is satisfied as to its value and when he is in a position to do so. I have seen few instances of improved juar, arhar or bajra being adopted but that is probably because the new strains are not yet sufficiently superior to the established sorts. The great need now is to bridge the gulf between the villages on the one side and the universities and experiment stations on the other and the surest way of doing this is for young men to go out from the universities into the villages to show how the new knowledge can be used to improve the lot of the ryot and to bring into his life some of the richness that science has conferred upon us.

At Home and Abroad

British Expedition to Mount Everest

The Mount Everest Committee has again received through the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India the consent of the Tibetan Government for the British expedition to Mount Everest in 1938. It is understood that despite religious sentiment in Tibet in regard to Mount Everest permission has been given in view of the good relations subsisting between India and Tibet as a New Year token of goodwill.

Japanese Diet to be dissolved

The cabinet at an emergency meeting, has decided to dissolve the Diet on January 23. Owing to the army's adamant attitude, administrative reform with the present disposition of political parties is impossible, and the cabinet found itself faced with the alternative of resigning or dissolving the Diet.

Ships for Spain

The Norwegian Seamen's Union has announced that in consequence of the decision taken by the Congress of Scandinavian Seamen's organizations the union has decided that the members of the union working in ships bound for the Spanish insurgents' ports must cease work. It adds that as the result of this decision, the crews of a Norwegian vessel at Leith and another at Cardiff have stopped work.

Trotsky finds Home in Mexico

Trotsky, the exiled Bolshevist leader who arrived here, said that he did not intend to mix in home or foreign politics. He would abide strictly by the conditions of his admittance to the country.

"I'm here as a student. Mexicans are better qualified than I to make Mexico's political experiments," he said. "I'm satisfied to watch the handling of the country's social and labour policy and problems. I expect after two or three years to learn a great deal. I consider that time is necessary to grasp so complex a situation."

Referring to Germany he said, "The Communist International has assured Hitler's success."

Italo-German Stand

The Italian and German determination to oppose at any price the establishment of Bolshevism in Spain was announced by General Goering in a statement to the press. He said that Italy and Germany had the same ideals and opinions, the same system of authority and order, and recognised that they were indeed of a firm collaboration to overcome the great danger which Bolshevism had brought into the world. This danger had now reached a most acute phase. The two nations were firmly determined to oppose any development which might increase it, and foreign reports that the Italian Government sought to persuade the German Government to desist from its policy were false. His reception in Italy was an example of Italy's appreciation of Germany's friendly support in the Abyssinian conflict.

Violation of Treaty

An official communique announces that henceforth war-ships and war vessels of foreign powers may pass the Kiel Canal only after a permit has been obtained which must be applied for through diplomatic channels.

Official circles describe this step as nothing surprising but an automatic sequel to Germany's suspension of the clauses in the Versailles Treaty which placed the German waterways under control.

Conscription of Germans

For the first time since the introduction of conscription Herr Hitler has decided to enrol Germans living abroad for military service and Labour Corps service. The decree instructs German Consuls abroad to enrol the 1917 class. German subjects born in that year are now liable to be called forth to both the services.

Italo-German Aim to exclude Russia

The Italian reply to the British non-intervention note, it is now stated, need not be expected soon. Meanwhile the Italo-German attitude towards the European situation is becoming clear following the Mussolini-Goering conversations. It is stated that Italy desires collaboration with European powers, but it must be without Russia and in terms of the changes that have taken place in the last two years. It considers that the time for a four-Power pact is past and that the so-called 'Stresa Front' has fallen to fragments and can never be reconstructed.

Franco-German Talks

It is expected in well-informed quarters that Herr Hitler will reply publicly to Mr. Eden's speech in the House of Commons on January 19 where an appeal was made to Germany to co-operate with other nations for peace. Herr Hitler is at present studying the full text of Mr. Eden's speech at Berchtesgaden and a reply is expected to be delivered at the meeting of the Reichstag shortly.

Meanwhile further Franco-German talks occurred and according to diplomatic circles the question of negotiation is in the air. It is believed that Herr Hitler is pondering in the Bavarian mountains on the advisability of making a definite statement as to whether and how Germany is prepared to meet half way provided the other side is ready to negotiate with Germany on the basis of perfect equality.

Oil-pollution Treaty

The question of the pollution of the sea by oil, which has been made the subject of a protracted examination by various experts called together by the League's Transit Organisation, will, according to present plans, shortly be considered at a special international conference with the object of concluding a convention.

The last consultation of Governments in regard to this subject showed that nearly all States having a sea-coast, many of which are particularly important from the point of view of maritime navigation, are now in favour of the conclusion of such a convention. Certain Governments, however, reserve their decision to participate in such a conference while others state that they are prepared in the event of a convention being concluded by the principal Powers either to take steps with a view to subsequent accession, or to arrange for ships flying their flags to observe the provisions of the proposed convention.

It was decided that the Council should convene a conference for this purpose at a date to be fixed, if possible, during the session of the Council fixed for January, 1937. All the Members of the League will be invited to this conference as well as the following non-member States: Brazil, Costa Rica, Danzig, Egypt, Germany, Iceland, Japan, Monaco and the United States of America.

The problem of oil pollution has in recent years become more serious because of the increasing number of vessels which now operate with oil as a fuel. Consequently, serious damage to harbour properties occurs, while many beaches become unfit for bathing purposes. Many people are also interested in this question because of the effects of oil-polluted waters on bird life.

League of Nations Appointments

As usual with each new organisation of the Council after the election of temporary Members at the September session of the Assembly, the Council, in accordance with Article 3 of its Rules of Procedure, allocates various standing questions among the different representatives for the ensuing year.

For the coming year, therefore, it was decided that questions should be allocated among the Council Members as follows:

Budgetary and Administrative	China
Danzig	United Kingdom
Disarmament	Turkey
Economic	Poland
Financial	Sweden
Health	New Zealand
Intellectual Co-operation	France
Legal	Italy
Mandates	Roumania
Minorities	Spain
Opium	Latvia
Refugees	Bolivia
Slavery	United Kingdom
Social	Chile
Transit	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Statistical Year-book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition

A new (twelfth) edition of the *Statistical Year-book of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition* is to appear towards the end of this month. This publication contains statistics of the exports and imports of arms and ammunition of sixty-two countries and sixty-one colonies, protectorates and mandated territories. It is the only publication of this kind containing statistics of the world trade in arms. The data published in it are taken from official statistical publications, more particularly from the Customs statistics which all Governments, members or non-members of the League of Nations, send to the League Library.

The *Year-book* is divided into three parts. Part I contains statistical tables of the exports and imports of individual countries. The reader will find in it details of the foreign trade of each country considered for the last six years. Part II contains comparative tables giving global figures or world trade for the last six years; it is also possible to gather the position occupied by exporting or importing countries in world trade as a whole, as all export and import figures are converted into gold dollars. Finally, Part III gives an almost complete reproduction of the statistical tables of exports and imports of arms and ammunition as shown in the national publications of the various countries. This third part is intended for those persons who wish to have details of the foreign trade in arms and ammunition of each of the countries under consideration.

The statistics in the *Year-book* stop in most cases at the end of 1935.

Protection of Women and Young People

The Assembly noted with satisfaction that the preparations for the Conference of Central Authorities in the East were well advanced. This Conference will open in February, 1937, at Bandoeng (Java). Nine States will take part: the United Kingdom, China, France, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Siam and the United States of America, which will be represented by an observer.

The Assembly considered that great importance was to be attached to the following questions, forming the agenda of the Conference: closer collaboration between the central authorities in the East; migration so far as it affects traffic in women and children; closer collaboration between the authorities and private organisations; the employment of women officials by authorities responsible for the welfare of women and children in the East; the abolition of licensed or tolerated brothels in the East; and the position of women refugees of Russian origin in that part of the world who have become or are in danger of becoming prostitutes.

The Assembly expressed the hope that the important task of the Conference will be brought to a successful issue and that practical measures for combating traffic in women and children may result from its discussions.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements in India and Outside.]

University Education

In addressing the second annual meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education Sir Jagdish Prasad, Education Member, said that the object of the Board was not to place hindrances in the advance of education nor to cast a malignant eye on the Universities.

On the average Indian Universities turned out about 12,000 graduates every year and the wastage was enormous. If the Government sounded a note of warning it was because most of them were deeply impressed by the tragic spectacle of thousands of young men drifting aimlessly through life. If the Universities turned out men who could not find a livelihood afterwards, it was obvious that they were accumulating explosive material which in the end might blow up the foundation of a stable society. The question, therefore, could be asked whether the Universities should not confine themselves mainly to the aristocracy of the intellect and give them preference which nature seems to have designed for them or they were to go on with the theory that although all were not intellectually equal yet all must have the same opportunities of receiving university education on a somewhat uniform pattern.

The Education Member asked the Board to apply its mind to these important questions and he hoped that the Board would also carefully examine two vital problems of boy's primary education and primary education for girls. As regards the latter, the Report of the Special Committee (which met at Simla) had been circulated. He recognised the magnitude of the problems. The question was primarily one of funds. From the papers circulated among the members it could be observed that over 8 millions boys and 13 millions girls were still without instruction and that the recurring cost would be over 19 crores a year.

He hoped that the labours of the Board would be crowned with success.

Educating the Deaf

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow opened the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India on December 29, in Calcutta.

Interviewed by a representative of the *Statesman*, Mr. S. N. Banerji, Secretary to the Convention, revealed that there are 230,895 deaf-mutes in India and Burma of whom approximately 100,000 are children of school-going age. For the education of these children there are 25 schools, most of them supported by public charities and missionary bodies while only three, two in Baroda and one in Mysore, are supported by the States. The total number of children attending these schools does not exceed 1,000.

Since the founding of the first school for the deaf in Bombay in 1884 progress had not beeen satisfactory, owing primarily to the poverty of the people and their ignorance of the possibility of educating the deaf.

The object of the Convention, Mr. Banerji stated, was to educate the masses as to what could be done for the deaf ; to establish organisations to look after the deaf on their leaving school, and to found research organisations to devise better ways and means of educating them.

Within the last two years, he added, the Convention had been able to start a new school at Suri in the Birbhum district while the University of Calcutta had arranged for research work to be carried out in the laboratories of the Science College.

With the inauguration of the new Constitution, Mr. Banerji expected that there would be wider schemes for primary education and the Convention, he said, would urge that the education of the deaf be made compulsory between the ages of six and sixteen.

"If," he added, "children whose hearing is normal require a compulsory system of education, deaf children need it very much more."

Mr. Banerji, in conclusion, emphasised the need for public support and Government patronage if the Convention was to accomplish its aims.

Along with the Convention in Calcutta there was an industrial exhibition at which exhibits of handiwork of children from deaf schools were on view.

New Director General of Archaeology in India

We are extremely glad to learn that Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has been selected Director General of Archaeology in succession to Mr. J. F. Blakiston. Rao Bahadur Dikshit was a brilliant student in his college career and passed all examinations with great distinction. Even in his college days he gave the undeniable proof of his high research capabilities by publishing original articles in the well-known oriental journals. It is important to note that he has risen so high in the sphere of Indian archaeology by dint of his merit only. Mr. Dikshit joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1920 as Superintendent of the Eastern Circle and was appointed Deputy Director General for exploration in 1930 and again Deputy Director General of Archaeology in 1935. He has successfully carried out important archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Paharpur, Mahasthan and a number of other places, which are too well-known to be mentioned. He is not only an able excavator but also an expert epigraphist and numismatist. In fact, all his researches show that he is a master in all branches of Indian archaeology. Since 1931 the Government of India have greatly reduced archaeological excavation inspite of legitimate protest from distinguished men and academic bodies. It is now fervently hoped that Rao Bahadur Dikshit will try his best to resume this important line of work. When Rao Bahadur Dikshit was posted in Calcutta, he never grudged to give facilities to the research-workers of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University. The University has recently started a museum of art and archaeology named after the late lamented Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and created a fund for carrying out excavation-work by the members of the University. It is hoped that Mr. Dikshit will help the University in achieving this noble mission. He is the second Indian to hold this high post, the first being Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

Allahabad University Jubilee Celebration

In connection with the Jubilee celebration of the Allahabad University to be held in 1937, it is proposed to bring an up-to-date list of old graduates of the University, especially of those who graduated in the early years of the University. All the graduates of the University are, therefore, requested to report their names, present address, designation and the year in and the college from which they took their degrees to the Registrar of the University.

Andhra University

The Andhra Research University's annual convocation session which began on Christmas Day concluded on January 2 when various degrees were conferred upon candidates.

The Maharaja of Jeypore presided over the opening of the convocation which took place in Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam.

The Maharaja laid stress upon the need for vigorous action for the development of national arts, languages and literature.

Recruitment to I.C.S.

In order to remedy the under-recruitment of Europeans the Secretary of State for India proposes to select in 1937, as in 1936, a certain number of candidates for admission to the Indian Civil Service and the Burma Civil Service (Class I) otherwise than by written competitive examination. Examination, as hitherto, will be used to meet the normal requirements of the year.

In 1937 and subsequent years the majority of vacancies reserved for Indian candidates will be filled in India, the London examination being restricted to Europeans and Indians who had their Universiy education in the British Isles.

The European vacancies will be filled independently of the Indian vacancies and probably there may be a considerable increase in the number of European vacancies to be filled by examination (provided a sufficient number of suitably qualified European candidates apply for appointment) and that this number will exceed that filled by selection without written examination.

A candidate will be free to enter for appointment for both methods. Applications to be considered for selection must reach the India Office not later than April 10, 1937.

Miscellany

THE PEOPLE'S STATE AS CONCEIVED BY VAN DEN BRUCK AND THE THIRD REICH OF TO-DAY.[1]

As early as 1923 there appeared a book written by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck entitled *Das Dritte Reich* ("The Third Reich"), which is of substantial importance in contemporary political thought. The buoyant strength of a nation does not come from the state but from the people, said he, and, in fact, from all the people belonging to that nation both within and beyond the national frontiers. According to Van den Bruck the Germans underwent a revolution in 1918-19, but it was of the false and futile kind, a "liberal" revolution, a "thing of parties." What the Germans required in 1922-23 was a "national revolution," a revolution of the people. Furthermore, said he, the Germans have a socialism of sorts, but those responsible for it are heedless of the fact that every nation has its own socialism. Young Germany learnt from him to say, "Our so-called socialism passed by the most important problem of all, for instance, the population problem. What we really need is a German socialism." In Van den Bruck's judgment the Germans of 1919-23 had "what is known as liberalism. But this same liberalism is the liberty to be without character or conviction while maintaining that just this is character. That kind of liberalism is the certain doom of nations. Germany has been infected with its germs from the West." Parliamentary democracy was criticised by him as follows:—"With complete lack of discernment parliamentary forms have been grafted on to a people which had already produced a democracy of states as the basis of living and of government. From this platform the problem, that extremely grave problem, of the proletarian masses should have been treated; which masses now dispossessed and embittered come pressing forward from the right as much as from the left claiming what is their due in some form or other." The constructive proposal of Van den Bruck envisaged a counter-movement in order to make amends for the errors committed in 1918 and ensuing years, but one free of factions and "organic-national." "In this way a Third *Reich* could evolve," said he, "the First having gone the way of all things, glorious and legendary, while the Second manifests its importance by wanting, as it were, to erect a state without the people."

Van den Bruck would thus be easily appraised as a pioneer of the ideas operating in the Nazi State since 1933. The category, "Third *Reich*," as applied to the Hitler-state of to-day, was his contribution to political philosophy. He himself never lived to enjoy the fruits of his endeavours, for, he died shortly before reaching the age of 50. He was one of the first to sense that the state cared little for those who honestly desired to lead a life mentally rich, just as it cared little for the people. Thus he left his country in disgust and went to France. It is curious that there in a strange land he discovered himself and his people.

His first literary efforts are larger works which are not essentially political. Moeller Van den Bruck was exceptionally appreciative of things beautiful—and he had the gift of imparting to his fellow-beings the meaning, the value, rules and mysteries of beauty. He wrote about plays, dramas and German literature in general of his time. His *Beauty in Italy* and *The Prussian Style* are interesting transitions from refined learning to cultural policy and politics. In his analysis, what may be taken as the essentials of Prussian style combine utility with beauty, are dispassionate, wholesome, straightforward, simple and refreshing, stimulating and at the same time soothing, powerful though not oppressive.

---

[1] Tazerout: "La Pensée Politique de Moeller van den Bruck" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie* (Paris, May-June, 1936).

The politico-cultural works of Van den Bruck which are gradually merging into living reality, compare his people *Die Deutschen* (The Germans) with others, to whose merits he is by no means blind. He distinguishes between "old races," "possessing" nations, who, satiated by the luxury of enjoyment, tend to relax and take things easy, thus losing their vigour and finally die, and "young," striving nations who can still work and enjoy work, who have something to strive for, an ideal, a mission. To the latter group, in his eyes, belongs Germany.

And he worked to advance the development of this young nation in his writings, as a journalist in his paper, *Das Gewissen* (Conscience), as a teacher in his "political lectures" and always as a friend inspiring people to wholesome and higher things. Even though he was both glad and proud to regard the Germans as "young," he was by no means ignorant of the many dangers which beset them by virtue of their very nature. In order to help enlighten and mould them he resorted to history, made them re-live the past, showed his contemporaries the outstanding figures of the past, sometimes attractive or as a warning, as examples worthy of emulation or earning bitter reproaches. The very titles of the separate volumes of his *Die Deutschen* reveal something of that which was nearest his heart. Moeller van den Bruck is a seer of the Third *Reich* and one who sees things clearly, developing shapes, visible to no one else, developments which are in the limbo of the future. He senses much without perceiving the details but the outlines are clear and distinct.

The shape that Van den Bruck's ideas have taken is to be found in the Nazi laws of 1933-34. The *milieu* in which the Hitler-state has been functioning derives much inspiration from those ideas. It is the same ideas that are to be seen in the interpreters of the Nazi constitution.

National-Socialism in Germany is responsible for an entirely new manner of thought in things of states, says Dr. Stuckart, State Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs at the present moment. The new conception demands the established security of ordered circumstances for the people by the people. It does not, however, expend itself in legislative thought alone in the narrower sense, but becomes a never-ending source of strength for the reason that it no longer regards the state as an end in itself but, guided by a higher conception of the people, as a means to an end,—that end being the life of the people. The new train of thought liberates the ideas of government from its traditional characteristic of being a thing apart, and makes of it a tool working in the interests of that which is considered to be the be-all and end-all of all political feeling, thought and action, that all-supporting essential, the people. Thus all state and constitutional legislative rearrangement becomes part of an all-embracing *Volksordnung* or "People's By-Laws," in which, accordingly, all organizations and arrangements relating to and serving the various spheres of national life, whether party, army or administration, the several estates and economic organizations, etc., naturally assume the proportions and functions of single bricks in an edifice. Thus has risen from its foundations the people's *Reich*, the Third *Reich*.

In the life of this state of the people the body nearest them is the Party, known in Germany as the "National-Socialist German Workers' Party." The oneness of "party" and "state" is brought about on the plane of the nation. The party as a constituent part of an all-embracing "*Volksordnung*" is entrusted with a positive task, that of supreme leadership which is its natural due. As the vehicle of an all-pervading policy it has primacy over all other organizations of the people. It is, therefore, inseparably bound up with the state, that is, the *Reich*, being, as it were, its very heart.

The theory of administration as developed in the Nazi state is described by Stuckart as follows:—This *Reich* as a collective head-organization, entirely adjusted to and guided by the law of life and the living interests of the people, requires of course an executive apparatus to implement the will of the people—its will. At the same time, a charter is required for the traditional, steady and uniform application of this will from end to end. This machinery of state, as it were, rests primarily with the administrative system, civil service, in short, the entire fiscal organization, and constitutes what is usually understood by the word "government." This machinery of government which might be termed the state in the narrower sense of the word, is by virtue of its structure and development designed and adjusted to act as an executive body according to and within the laws of the land. It is not used for its own sake but functions wholly and solely as trustee for the good of the national community.

The state then in its narrower sense, the machinery of state or government, is not suited actually to lead the people. Throughout German history leadership was always to be sought outside the government, whether with the kings or emperors, churches or guilds, the absolute princes, or, finally in the people's representatives so-called, that is, Parliament. Fundamentally speaking, the government was always only a vehicle of state guidance. For the first time, in the *Reich* of National-Socialist making, political guidance is in the hands of a community, an organization uninfluenced by any system or idea foreign to the Germans.

Structurally, this guidance rests with the Party. The latter is, in fact, the charter of the *Reich* whose power and stability it insures and reinforces. As political bearer of the will of the nation it guarantees a national-socialist policy for the whole and its component parts, designed in the interests and aims of the German people, by educating a type of being aspiring to upright carriage, mind and way of living. To achieve a uniform self-conserving and national instinct, the people must be continually shaped and moulded so that the *Fuehrer* (Leader) may operate with the whole to a man.

The stability of leadership, however, is the secret of the successful assertion of a people in history. "The more stable the regimes," says the *Fuehrer*, "the better for the peoples concerned." History teaches that the German people have never reaped the reward of their diligence, fortitude, endurance and self-denial. They have always managed to achieve all manner of record accomplishments but others have had the benefit because of the failure of political leadership. The latter never managed to direct things in such a way that the people themselves derived the benefits of their own efforts. The stability of the national-socialist regime, to be safeguarded by the Party, therefore, becomes the mainstay for a happier development of the German people in the future.

Hence Party and State must be closely akin. This most vital condition has been provided for in the "Law of December 1, 1933, securing the oneness of Party and State." Through it the National-Socialist Party is declared the motive and guiding force of the government. This law which is of such importance to the political development of Germany, neither abolishes the state nor the difference between it and the Party. If the latter were to see to the maintenance of order it would be curtailing its own freedom of action, which, on the other hand, must be preserved if it is to fulfil its foremost task, that of keeping a finger on the public pulse, and indicate such measures as will maintain and prolong its beating. Executive activity on the part of the Party would detract from its sensitiveness as a recording instrument.

National-socialism, says Stuckart, has nothing in common with a constitution swayed by privileges, group interests, distribution of power and similar conflicting forces. A constitution in the national-socialist sense is a living creation dominated throughout by one thought, the people and their well-being. The constitution of the German people and their *Reich*, finds expression in living political facts, in the words and deeds of their *Fuehrer*, and, finally, in the laws which in content are fundamental. In this sense the Act regarding the oneness of Party and State is true constitutionalism. Proceeding from the people, it makes the Nazi party the trustee of the German idea of state and, therefore inextricably bound up with the state. In the true meaning of constitutionalism, the Party is given the highest task to perform that of politically moulding the German people into a nation, at the time endowing the Party with leadership. From this platform of leadership, the relation of Party and State follows quite naturally. While the former is responsible for forming the political will of the *Reich*, the latter has to execute this will within every phase of its competency.

The crowning point in the relation of the two was the Act promulgated on August 1, 1934, concerning the Head of the state, which amalgamated that office with the Chancellorship transferring the powers hitherto vested in the Head of the state to the *Fuehrer* and Chancellor, Adolf Hitler.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS STATISTICS ON POPULATION.

In addition to the usual tables showing the area and population of all countries, the distribution of population by sex and by age-groups, the movement of population (actual number and rates), the specific mortality rates by age and sex (this table was introduced last year), the recent issue (1935/36) of the *Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations* includes for the first time a detailed table showing births according to the mother's age, fertility rates, and reproduction rates. This table, which is to be continued and amplified in future editions, contains figures, some hitherto unpublished, for nearly all the countries for which such data exist. It illustrates, not merely the present demographical situation and the changes during the past ten years, but also the probable trend of population in different countries. The value and interest of these figures will be obvious to anyone who is concerned with demographic problems both in themselves and in relation to economic, political, and social problems. They represent a source of useful and objective information in the controversy as to the probability of over-population or the danger of a decline.

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

FROM THE UPANISHADS TO AUROBINDO.

Eastern Lights by M. L. Sircar (Arya Publishing Co., Calcutta) is not a work of translations from oriental texts. Nor does it seek to summarize objectively some of the leading doctrines of Eastern thought. It is a book of general observations and remarks made by the author upon a few products of the Hindu mind, ancient, medieval and modern. The attempt is interesting as indicative of the manner in which an Indian student of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Bergson, Croce and Gentile tries to look at the philosophical categories engendered in the East and the West. The reader is presented with statements which show what the author thinks of the *Upanishads*, the *Gita*, the *Bhagavata Purana* and the *Tantras* in the perspective of the modern European philosophies.

One statement is as follows: "Buddhism presents a unique theory of change. It accepts change without continuity. Even if there be a continuity, the continuity is more apparent than real, for really time is more a series than a continuity" (p. 108).

At another point the reader is told that "Abhinava Gupta anticipates Croce in his expressionist theory of beauty," and that "he differs from Bhattanayaka who emphasizes the feeling element in the perception of the beautiful" (p. 133).

Another remark runs to the effect that "in Vaisnavic philosophy Truth has been reconciled with value, for Reality is dynamic. It is not only existence, but also existence that presents itself as True, Good and Beautiful" (p. 157).

Coming to our own times we are told in regard to Aurobindo's philosophy, that "death is not the last word of existence, nor suffering the only fact of life." "Our misery arises from the error of wrongly identifying life with the phases of life. The cure lies not in forsaking life, but in becoming more and more identified with it" (pp. 276-277). Further, "Aurobindo's conception of superman differs from Nietzsche's. Here is no conception of emergence. Rather it is the waking of the divinity that is in man" (p. 289). And finally, "the philosophy of Aurobindo utilizes the Divine *Sakti* to the utmost and establishes a race on earth which will make it full of supramental wisdom and supramental power" (p. 305).

A great part of this work is to be appraised as the reactions of a post-Bergsonian Hindu on the creators and creations of Indian philosophy from the *Upanisads* to Aurobindo Ghose. The old Hindu systems have been surveyed mainly in the light of *élan vital* and the other categories of dynamism associated with Bergson.

The attempt to exhibit the Indian differences, through the ages, from the standpoints of Bergson constitutes a chief feature of these essays. "The *Upanisads*," for instance, "present both the dynamic and the silent aspects of life," but Bergson, we are told, "is more conscious of the perpetual flux of life than of its soft repose and serene calm" (pp. 10-11). According to the author the *Bhagavata Purana* "accepts that even in creative evolution there is the reflection of spirit" and therefore rejects the *Samkhya* idea of the unconscious purposiveness of evolution as much as the self-evolving *élan vital* of Bergson (p. 51). "The *Tantras* emphasize the principle of becoming," says he, "but unlike Bergson they insist upon the locus of becoming to a centre and a point" (p. 71). Again, "the fascination of dynamism carries Bergson to a point where he can find no centrality in it," and "this absence of anything central has been the weak point of Bergsonian philosophy." On the contrary, the Vaisnavas are said to "make intuition dynamic, but in reference to a centre" (p. 102).

Aurobindo is described as being "nearer to Schopenhauer than to Bergson in laying emphasis upon *Sakti.*" It is considered to be "nothing different from Schopenhauer's will" (p. 265).

There are very few publications in which modern Indian thought is exhibited along with ancient. In the present work a substantial portion has been given over to the moderns, and this will be appreciated.

Rammohun and Dayananda have been dealt with somewhat historically or rather with some biographical touches. In connection with Ramkrishna and Vivekananda also the reader will get some concrete facts as well as a few extracts from the latter's *Complete Works.* These chapters may be read with profit. Quotations from *Life Divine* and the *Riddle of the World* have rendered the last chapter, namely, that on Aurobindo, less impressionistic and more objective.

Benoykumar Sarkar.

PROFESSOR SHIOMI'S CRITICISMS ON THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT STATISTICS OF NATIONAL WEALTH AND INCOME.

In June, 1928, the Statistical Bureau of the Cabinet issued a statement in which it put Japan's national *wealth* in 1924 at 102,341,600,000 yens and in another statement issued in October of the same year, it gave the total *income* of the Japanese people at 13,382,323,000. In both cases the figures are presumptive, but both announcements have nevertheless excited much interest in academic circles, partly because these bold announcements came from the Statistical Bureau, which has hitherto been known for its scrupulous regard for exactitude, and partly because these figures are of special importance to all students of Japan's national economics and finance.

The Statistical Bureau of the Cabinet has long made it its sole function to compile statistics of population; it has aimed exclusively at the publication of accurate population statistics. At the end of last year, however, the Statistical Bureau made a sudden departure from the beaten track and made public, on its own responsibility, the statistics of the national wealth and income.

Commendable though it was in its conception, the attempt somewhat erred on the side of boldness. It may at the same time be doubted whether the attitude of the people is proper, who in their ecstasy over the figures published, namely, 100,000,000,000 for the national wealth and 13,000,000,000 for the national income, are prone to swallow them, without stopping to think what caution must be used in utilizing them.

It is, no doubt, a matter of congratulation that the Statistical Bureau, not content with the work of compiling the statistics of population, which has long been its sole concern, has come to try its hand at the compilation of statistics regarding the national wealth and income, but with the limited fund which the Bureau has at its disposal at present, its new undertaking is evidently beyond its powers. It is advisable that the amount allotted to the Bureau should first be increased so that it can carry out completely its compilation of economic statistics of all kinds. After this has been accomplished, the work of compiling the statistics of the national wealth and the national income should be taken in hand. The torpid attitude of the

Statistical Bureau in the past was far from statisfactory, but the present rather reckless attitude of the Bureau is also not altogether to be commended. Nor can the attitude of the general public, which is wont blindly to accept and indiscriminately to use the figures published by the Bureau, be described as prudent and far-seeing. My great desire is that the Statistical Bureau will go about its business in the right way for the future sound development of statistical work in Japan.—Saburo Shiomi in *Kyoto University Economic Review.*

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Prakaṭārthavivaraṇam (Brahmasūtraśāṅkarabhāṣyavyākhyānam), Vol. I.—Madras University, Sanskrit Series, No. 9.—Edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras. First Edition, August, 1935. Cloth bound, 8vo, pp. xiii + 588. Price Rs. 6.

Appaya Dīkṣita, in his Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha, has mentioned the names of numerous Vedāntic writers, some of whom are known to us in name only, while with others we make our acquaintance through stray quotations of doubtful authenticity. Prakaṭārthavivaraṇakāra (or Prakaṭārthakāra) is one of such writers referred to by Dīkṣita. Until 1935, the existence of any work of this old Advaita writer (whose name is yet to be discovered) was practically unknown to the scholars in general, though we know it for certain that Rājā Rājendra Lāla Mitra had procured a copy of this work for the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. "It is interesting to note," observes the learned editor of the present work, "that Prof. Das Gupta of the Calcutta Sanskrit College borrowed for his use, the transcript of the work from the Adyar Library, not being aware of the existence of a copy of the work in his own place." We are, however, unable to appretiate the value of this utterly uncalled for remark. We wonder, what harm can be there if a scholar, belonging to some particular province, secures the transcript of some manuscript from another province, presumably with the intention of comparing it with the copy preserved in his own province. The existence of the manuscript of the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa was brought to light by the Peripatetic Search Party of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras; and in August, 1935, the work appeared under the editorship of Dr. Chintamani.

The Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa is the first complete commentary on Brahma-Sūtra-Śāṅkara-bhāṣya from the viewpoint of the Vivaraṇa school. It derives its name 'Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa' in contrast to the well known 'Vivaraṇa' which is extremely abstruse in import (guḍhārtha).

It was customary with the later orthodox writers of philosophical treatises to mention the names of their 'gurus' and also of their own selves either in the introductory or in the concluding verses. Failing that, we generally do not miss the names in the colophon at least. But the published text has disappointed us in this respect. The learned editor, in spite of all his attempts, has not been able to trace the name and identity of the author in any of the several Manuscripts, on which his edition is based.

About the date of the author, too, nothing definite can be said in the present state of our knowledge. The most that we can say of him, is that he is later than Vācaspati (9th century A.D.), Prakāśātman (9th century A.D.) and Udayana (10th century A.D.), and earlier than Ānandagiri (14th century A.D.).

What we found before the publication of the work, was the high reputation of the author. And the first part of the work (containing the commentary from the beginning to the end of the second quarter of the second chapter of the Brahmasūtras), now under review, has convinced us that if the second part does not belie our expectations, the work will be found to be a veritable storehouse of informations from both the philosophical and the historical points of view. We, however, reserve our comments for the present until the second volume comes out.

Now, it only remains for us to indicate some of the minor blemishes in such an otherwise very good edition of the celebrated work. In the first place, no references to the quotations from the authoritative scriptures are given. In the second place, there is unfortunately no Index of names appended to the work, even though the work is published by such a respectable institution as the University of Madras. We need hardly remind the learned editor that the categorical imperative of research demands the inclusion of such an Index. We hope, in the second volume an Index of proper names will find its proper place.

A. S.

Prophet of Islam and His Teachings by Maulavi Abdul Karim, B.A., M.L.C., 7 × 5, pp. ii + 95 + Appendix XXX, illustrations 3, Calcutta. Published by A. Rasul, 1936.

We have read with pleasure the admirable little work "Prophet of Islam and His Teachings" by Maulavi Abdul Karim, B.A., M.L.C., which bears throughout the stamp of the erudition of its well-known author. The author has given a full history of the chequered life of the Prephet and has shown that he was not only a great religious reformer but a social and educational reformer too. The author has placed Islam in its true light before the educated public, Muslim and non-Muslim, and has taken pains to dispel certain erroneous imputations levelled against Islam and its Prophet by prejudiced, uninformed and misinformed people, *e.g.*, that Islam was spread at the point of the sword. The doctrines of Islam have been dealt with in a beautiful way. The book will appeal to all classes of readers on account of the liberal spirit which breathes through it. The author has brought out the universalism of Islam and though one may not accept the opinion of George Bernard Shaw quoted on page 86 of the book as literally correct, one will undoubtedly recognise its substantial correctness as the non-Muslim opinion about Islam quoted in Chapter VI of the book bears eloquent testimony to the universal appeal of this faith and its capacity for absorbing and assimilating every progress made by philosophy and science.

A book of this kind is particularly welcome in this country at the present age of communal discord. It is a matter of great regret that the Hindus and the Musalmans have been living here side by side for generations without knowing much about each other's religion and culture. The ignorance of the learned men of other communities about Islam and its beautiful teachings is largely due to the regrettable paucity of Muhammadan scholars bringing out books of the type of the present one dealing with Islamic faith and culture. A book like the one under review is calculated to create an atmosphere of good-will by helping towards a mutual understanding of the race.

In an appendix, the author has enumerated the services rendered by Islam to the cause of civilisation. These are matters of history with which very few educated Indians are acquainted. These pages will remind the Muhammadan reader in these days of decadence of Muhammadan greatness that, in the dark days of the Middle Ages when Europe was sunk in depths of ignorance and superstition, it was the Muhammadan Universities in Spain that kept alive the torch of learning in Europe. In these days when signs of renaissance are clearly visible on all sides in Turkey, Persia, Arabia and other Muhammadan countries, the book appears in the right time to remind its Muhammadan readers of the glorious culture and traditions of Islam and its followers.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE

A Banker Meets Jesus. By R. von Hegedius, tr. by M. L. Christlieb. George Allen and Union.

This little book was written by a Hungarian business man, and was published in German and Hungarian under the title of "Jesus in the Beehive;" the translator is a well-known missionary who worked in India for many years.

This book is the work of a mystic, who records his meditations on the meaning of Jesus, and because he is a layman can sometimes give a freshness which is lacking in books by professional students of religion; and though he is at times too fanciful, there is a real depth of religious devotion. In the chapter which gives the book its challenging sub-title he seeks to prick the bubble of human complacency by arguing that "bees are far more self-sacrificing and loyal to society than men." If you can really see me, oh bee, if with your thousand eyes you can pierce through my two, you must think very little of me. You certainly will not take me for the crown of creation." Often he takes striking parables from modern science; "for two millenniums Jesus has been giving forth his radiance, like those radio-emanations which need yet another million years to emit their rays fully."

C. S. MILFORD.

When the Church was Very Young. By E. G. Loosley. George Allen and Unwin. 3*s*. 6*d*.

A simple but challenging little book, intended to recall the attention of Christians to the fact that the vitality of a religious movement does not necessarily depend on the possession of buildings, organisation, scriptures and so on. The early Christian Church had none of these things, and yet was a living and progressive body.

C. S. MILFORD.

Ourselves

[I. University Foundation Day Commemoration.—II. The Annual Convocation.—III. Appointments Board.—IV. Ordinary Fellows.—V. Mr. Satischandra Ghosh.—VI. International Office of University Information, Havana.—VII. Dr. Hrishikesh Rakshit.—VIII. Readership Lectures.—IX. A New Ph.D.—X. Tagore Law Professor.—XI. Basanta Lectures.—XII. Dr. G. H. Moos.—XIII. New Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University.—XIV. University Men in the New Assembly.—XV. Oxford Distinction for Miss Rama Bose.—XVI. The Late Prof. Moritz Winternitz.—XVII. Dr. Harman Goetz's Lectures.—XVIII. Redistribution of Marks in English Honours Course.—XIX. Revised Syllabus in Zoology.]

I. UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION DAY COMMEMORATION.

The University Foundation Day was celebrated in a fitting manner on the 30th January last. The due date for the celebration was the 24th, but the function had to be deferred for a week to suit the convenience of the participants.

The morning function began with the Route March of students from the different colleges of the city and mofussil, numbering over 3,000, who proceeded, each college carrying its own banner, from the Presidency College compound to the Maidan, timing their steps to the music of the band which the University and the colleges had organised. The colleges took up the positions marked out for them in the arena. Then the University band played the opening lines of a national song invoking the sacred name of our Motherland, to which the vast gathering made their respectful obeisance, all standing. This was followed by a chorus song specially composed by Rabindranath, which was sung to the accompaniment of the University band. Then began the March Past, the Vice-Chancellor taking the salute under the University Flag. Next came the Vice-Chancellor's inspiring address to the students, an address which was remarkable not only for the speaker's sincerity of purpose but also for the value of the practical steps which the University, he said, was taking for the amelioration of the conditions of the student community. The function came to a close with the singing of the first bars of the national song by eight girl students.

The afternoon programme comprised demonstration of physical feats organised by the Students' Welfare Department of the University and distribution of certificates and blues to those students who had passed the Athletic Proficiency Test.

The Address of the Vice-Chancellor, wherein the purpose of the annual celebrations have been very clearly stated, is reproduced as the first article in this issue of the REVIEW,

An informal conference of Principals and representatives of different colleges was held, the Vice-Chancellor presiding, in the University buildings on Monday the 1st February, when some important questions regarding closer co-ordination between the colleges and the University was discussed.

No formal resolution was, however, adopted at the conference. It discussed among other subjects the question of improving the teaching of English. The disproportionate failure in English at University examinations was pointed out and the necessity for extending tutorial work, particularly at the Intermediate stage, and the practicability of the appointment of additional staff in English for the purpose were considered.

The conference also considered the question of improving the general knowledge of students and broadening their outlook and ideals and persuading them to use the library more extensively as also the practicability of arranging for popular lectures with the aid of University or of college teachers for the purpose.

The establishment of closer contact between teachers and students and providing scope to students for such activities as may develop their character and capacity for social and corporate work and the means for securing better organisation and co-ordination of games and sports, particularly the possibility of benefiting as large a number of students in this respect as possible and the desirability of constituting a central body for controlling inter-collegiate activities with the help of local bodies to be established in colleges were discussed.

The subjects next discussed were whether there could be an extension of activities of the Students' Welfare Department in Muffasil, whether medical examination and establishment of after-care centres for students could be provided there and whether for this purpose cooperation of other bodies in the Muffasil would be available.

The conference concluded after discussing the question of securing co-operation between the University and the colleges regarding the working of the proposed Appointments Board. It was suggested that for this purpose a professor of each college was to be selected who would be in touch with the University; arrangements were to be made to circulate to students all relevant information about the competitive and other service examinations of local and central Governments which are now sent to the University and also information regarding careers, training and so forth, which the University might secure from firms and employers. The question of selecting students by colleges for preliminary training was also discussed.

* * *

II. THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

For the first time in the history of this University it has been decided to invite a distinguished "outsider" to address the Annual Convocation. But we cannot regard our illustrious countryman on whom the choice of the Syndicate has fallen this year an "outsider." Dr. Rabindranath Tagore not only holds an honorary degree of this University but we have the proud privilege of counting him as one of our well-known teachers who have added to the name and fame of their *alma mater*. He was associated with this University as a Reader, as Kamala Lecturer and subsequently as a Professor for a couple of years. It is in the fitness of things that the first Indian Nobel Laureate should be invited to address the Convocation when a departure from the usual procedure has at all been decided upon. The Syndicate has made the necessary changes in the programme of the Convocation.

Another remarkable feature of the Convocation will be that graduates will have the option of wearing Indian dress under their gowns and hoods. The changes proposed some time ago in the Regulations relating to 'Academical Costume' have, at last been sanctioned by Government and graduates shall now wear

(*i*) Dhoti and either a black coat or a white punjabi, or
(*ii*) White trousers and a black chapkan or achkan, or
(*iii*) European dress and a college cap.

* * *

III. APPOINTMENTS BOARD.

The University of Cambridge has, now for some time past, led the way in providing a practical means of co-operation between the University and the business houses of the British Isles. The result has been quite satisfactory for all the parties concerned and to-day most employers confidently refer to the Cambridge University

Appointments Board when they need a bright youngman for one of their home or foreign offices. The object of the Appointments Board about to be instituted in our University is not quite identical. The Board will not only like its Cambridge prototype find out the right type of youngmen for the Calcutta firms whenever called upon to do so, but it will do something more. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has agreed to arrange for the business training of selected University graduates so that when the period of apprenticeship is over they can start as independent business men, though on a small scale. The success of the scheme will depend largely on the constitution of the Board and the Secretary will have a highly responsible duty to perform. The future of the scheme will depend not a little on the work of the first batch of apprentices and the public will watch their career with anxious interest.

The scheme is one of the many that owe their origin to the practical outlook of our present Vice-Chancellor.

* * *

IV. Ordinary Fellows.

We accord a cordial welcome to Dr. Syed Hedayetullah, who has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow by H. E. the Chancellor. Dr. Hedayetullah who is a brilliant graduate of this University took his Master's Degree with First Class Honours in Botany. He then proceeded to England where he secured the Ph.D. Degree of the University of London. On return home he was appointed University Lecturer in the Department of Botany. He is at present Economic Botanist to the Government of Bengal.

We also offer our heartiest congratulations to Prof. P. C. Mitter, Mr. Manmathanath Ray, Mr. Prabhatnath Banerjee and Mr. Satischandra Ghosh who have been re-elected to the Senate by the Faculties of Science, Law, Engineering and by the Registered Graduates respectively.

* * *

V. Mr. Satischandra Ghosh.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., has, subject to the approval of the Government, been appointed University Inspector of Colleges in succession to Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee. Mr. Ghosh has served his *alma mater* for nearly over 18 years with marked distinction as Lecturer in Mathematics, as Secretary, Post-Graduate Councils of Teaching in Arts and Science, as Officiating Registrar and as Officiating Inspector of Colleges. He is familiar with every detail of University administration and he brings to his office that vigour and breadth of outlook for which he is so well known.

We offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Ghosh.

* * *

VI. INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY INFORMATION, HAVANA.

The International Office of University Information, Havana, has forwarded to this University a resolution which was adopted at the First International Congress of the Universities held in the city of Havana in 1930, requesting it to adhere to the said resolution so as to effect an improvement of all relations of friendship and co-operation among all the Universities of the world.

We understand that the International Office has been informed that this University welcomes the resolution and will be glad to co-operate in the matter and that information asked for has been supplied.

* * *

VII. SCHOLARSHIP BY ROYAL COMMISSION FOR EXHIBITION OF 1851.

It will be recalled that the scholarship for advanced scientific study awarded by the Royal Commission for Exhibition of 1851 were not hitherto open to Indian Universities although all British Dominions were entitled to participate in the scheme. Our University drew the attention of Government and the authorities in England to this anomalous position and after protracted correspondence, the scholarships have now been thrown open to India as well. Nominations have been sought for from the Universities by the Government of India which has been entrusted with the task of making final recommendation to the Royal Commission. The name of Dr. Hrisikesh Rakhsit, D.SC., of the Department of Physics, has been unanimously proposed by the Syndicate in this connection.

* * *

VIII. READERSHIP LECTURES.

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of the International Labour Office of Geneva delivered his Readership lectures on the Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation with special reference to the social and economic development of India. His lectures were largely attended and will be published in due course.

* *

IX. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Sarojkumar Basu, M.A., on his being admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University. Dr. Basu submitted a thesis entitled "Industrial Finance in India" which was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir Cecil Hormann Kisch, C.B., K.C.I.E., Prof. T. E. Gregory and Mr. P. B. Whale.

* * *

X. TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR.

Mr. J. H. Moogan, K.C., Tagore Law Professor for 1936, has intimated that he will deliver his lectures on "Federalism with particular reference to India" in December, 1937.

* * *

XI. BASANTA LECTURES.

Major A. C. Chatterjee, I.M.S., who has been appointed to deliver the "Basanta Lectures" for 1936 will commence his lectures on "the Problem of Malaria in Bengal" from the first week of March, 1937.

* * *

XII. DR. G. H. MOOS.

Dr. Guathorus H. Moos, M.A. (Cantab.), LL.D. (Leyden), of the Kern Institute, Leyden, has been appointed a Reader. The subject and the date of his discourse will be announced later.

* * *

XIII. NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE DACCA UNIVERSITY.

The University of Dacca is to be congratulated on the appointment of its new Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, on whom the choice of Government has fallen, has been connected with the Dacca University from its very inception not only as a Professor but also as a member of the Executive Committee. He was the provost of one of the most important "Halls" of the University and the academic and administrative interests of the University demanded that Dr. Majumdar's wide experience, ripe scholarship and mature judgment should be fully utilised. He is an *alumnus* of the Calcutta University and we have special reasons to rejoice in this appointment as he was on the Post-Graduate teaching staff before his services were enlisted by the fortunate sister institution. We congratulate the Government of Bengal on their happy choice, for Dr. Majumdar is a well-known scholar of world-wide reputation and combines in his person the rare qualities of a successful teacher and an efficient administrator.

* * *

XIV. UNIVERSITY MEN IN THE NEW ASSEMBLY.

The University is entitled under the law to one seat only in the Legislative Assembly. Its claims to greater representation may have been ignored by the legislators at Westminster, but public opinion has amply justified them. No less than thirteen members of the newly constituted legislature are intimately connected with the University either as its teachers or as members of the Senate and the Syndicate. It was in the fitness of things that the Registered Graduates should send the Vice-Chancellor to represent his and their *alma mater* in the Assembly. Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee and Dr. Sanaullah belong to the Post-Graduate departments of English and History respectively. Mr. P. N. Banerjee is not only a well-known Post-Graduate teacher but has long been connected with the University College of Law, of which he is now the Vice-Principal. The Post-Graduate department has special reason to be grateful to him for the unique services he rendered at the time of the reorganisation, and we of the REVIEW congratulate him specially because he is a member of our editorial Board with which he was also connected some time ago as Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray and Mr. Chippendale are lecturers in the Law College. Messrs. Banerjee and Ray have been members of the Syndicate for nearly two decades where they won their spurs as the worthy lieutenants of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Maulavi Fazl-ul-Haq, Khan Bahadur Aziz-ul-Huq, C. I. E., Khan Bahadur Alfazuddin Ahmad, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Mr. N. R. Sircar and Mr. Mukunda Behari Mallik are well-known figures in the Senate. Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, though he owes his allegiance to a distinguished seat of learning across the sea, yields to none in his devotion to the Calcutta University with which he has been closely associated for the best part of his life. Mr. Mallik at one time used to lecture to the Under-graduate students of Pali and he, we hope, will be the last person to ignore our claims to a more generous grant from the public purse. Almost all of them are genuine products of this University and we have no donbt that they will stand forth as the valiant champions of the cause of the University though they may represent other constituencies.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that they have all been returned with a thumping majority, which leaves no room for doubt about their right to speak on behalf of their province. Though they may belong to different communities and wear different party badges, we fervently hope that they will be found in the same lobby when the true interests of their *alma mater* so demand.

We also avail ourselves of this opportunity of offering our sincerest congratulations to Rai Bahadur Promode Chandra Dutt, on his return to the Legislative Assembly of Assam. He has been a member of the Senate for more than a decade and has never failed to respond to the call of his *alma mater*. As the jurisdiction of this University extends over the Rai Bahadur's native province, he will certainly be in a position to stand by it when it will need his services.

* * *

XV. OXFORD DISTINCTION FOR MISS RAMA BOSE.

We understand that the University of Oxford has recently conferred the Degree of D. Phil on Miss Rama Bose, M.A., a Research Scholar of this University, in recognition of her uncommon erudition in Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit lore. In her case the

University deviated from its ordinary rules in making a research scholarship available outside its jurisdiction and her achievements have amply justified this unusual step. Our sincerest congratulations to Miss Bose, whose future career we will watch with interest and pride.

* * *

XVI. THE LATE PROF. MORITZ WINTERNITZ.

News has reached us of the death of Prof. Moritz Winternitz of the University of Prague. Prof. Winternitz's relation with the Calcutta University dates from the year 1923, when he was appointed a Reader to deliver a number of lectures on the " Problems in the History of Sanskrit Literature." With the exception of the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi of Paris, Prof. Winternitz was surely better known in India than any other European Indologist of modern times. His fame rests on the sound foundation of his well-known work, *Geschichte der indischen Literature,* two volumes of which in an English garb, have been published by this University. It is to be hoped that the publication of an English version of the remaining (third) volume will not be impeded by the death of the author.

The late Professor's early training had been mainly in Vedic Philology, for it was he who did most part of the work when Max Müller brought out the second edition of the Rigveda along with Sayana's commentary. His own contribution to Vedic Philology is confined to the edition of the Grihyasutra (1887) and the Mantrapatha ((1897) of the Apastambins. These two properly belong to the auxiliary literature of the Vedas. His life's work was to bring out a comprehensive history of Indian literature and to this task he devoted most of his mature years. He was also one of the founders and editors of the excellent Oriental Journal "Archiv Orientalin."

Prof. Winternitz was one of the renowned Jewish scholars who have done so much for ancient Indian history and culture, and as such he will always be mentioned along with Benfey, Aufrecht, Goldstücker and Lévi. His death will be deeply mourned by scholars all over the world.

* * *

XVII. DR. HARMAN GOETZ'S LECTURES.

Dr. Harman Goetz, Conservator of the Kern Institute, Leyden, who has been appointed a Special University Reader, will deliver a course of 4 lectures on

(*i*) The Genesis of Indo-Muslim Civilisation;
(*ii*) The Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the 18th Century.

The lectures, which are open to the public, will commence on the 9th February and will continue till the 12th in the Library Hall, Darbhanga Buildings, being held each day at 4 P.M. The Vice-Chancellor will preside.

* * *

XVIII. REDISTRIBUTION OF MARKS IN ENGLISH HONOURS COURSE.

The following changes, approved by the Senate, in Section 12, Chapter XXXII of the Regulations relating to the English Honours course for the B.A. Examination, has been sanctioned by Government:—

That in Paper VI, under the head English, in Chapter XXXII (B.A. Examination) of the Regulations (p. 207 of the Edition of 1935)

" (*a*)	Philology of the English Language ...	50 marks
(*b*)	General History of English Literature ...	50 marke "

be replaced by the following:—

" (*a*)	General History of English Literature ...	40 marks
(*b*)	Study of Special Authors ...	30 marks
(*c*)	Philology of the English Language ...	30 marks."

The above changes will be given effect to from the B.A. Examination of 1938.

* * *

XIX. REVISED SYLLABUS IN ZOOLOGY.

The following changes, approved by the Senate, in the University Regulations relating to the revised syllabus in Zoology for the I. A., I.Sc., B.A., and B.Sc. Examinations have been sanctioned by Government:—

"I.A. AND I.Sc. EXAMINATIONS.

Theoretical Course.

The scope of Zoology—Distinction between plant and animal. Broad subdivisions of the animal kingdom. Outlines of the theory of Organic Evolution. The general morphology and physiology of the cell ; cell division. Simple tissues.

The general characters of the Protozoa: types—Amoeba, Paramoecium.

The general characters of the Coelenterata: type—Hydra.

The general characters of the Annelida: type—Earthworm.

The general characters of the Arthropoda: types—Prawn, Cockroach (gross anatomy).

The general characters of the Mollusca: type—Fresh water mussel (gross anatomy).

The general characters of the Chordata and board subdivisions into classes.

The general anatomy of the soft parts of a common Teleost.

Structural details of Frog or Toad and outline of life-history of the common Frog.

General characters of the Mammalia: type—Guinea-pig or Rabbit (gross anatomy).

The morphology of the types mentioned should be treated in an elementary way except in the case of Frog or Toad.

Practical Course.

The use of compound microscope.

A general acquaintance with histology of simple animal tissues.

Microscopic examination of: Amoeba, Paramoecium and Hydra, sections of Earthworm (Pheretime) and of the organs of Frog or Toad.

Microscopic examination of the types mentioned in the theoretical course.

Dissection of: Digestive and nervous system of Earthworm, Prawn, Common Teleost and Frog or Toad.

Dissection of the circulatory and reproductive systems of the Prawn, Common Teleost and Frog or Toad.

General examination of the viscera of the Guinea-pig and dissection of its vascular system.

Distribution of theoretical papers will be as follows:—

First paper	Invertebrata
Second paper	General and Vertebrata

B.A. AND B.Sc. EXAMINATIONS.

PASS COURSE.

(*Theoretical.*)

(1) General principles of Biology. The cell in development and inheritance. eGneral notions of Evolution, variation and heredity. Evidences of Evolution.

(2) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of Protozoa: type—Amoeba. Polystomella, Euglena, Paraoecium, Vorticella Monocystie.

(3) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of Porifera-type—Sycon.

(4) Distinctive characters and classification of Coelenterat: types—Hydra, Obelia, Auralia.

(5) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of Platyhelminthes: types—Liver fluke (Fasciola), Taenia solium (particularly life history).

(6) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of Nomathelminthes: type—Ascaris.

(7) Distinctive characters of Annelida and broad divisions into classes: types—Nereis, Earthworm, Leech, General outline of life-history of Polygardium, Structure of Trochophore larva.

(8) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of Echinodermata: type—Starfish.

(9) General characters of Arthropoda and distinctive characters of its subdivisions: types—Prawn, Cockroach, Scorpion.

(10) Distinctive characters and broad outline classification of the Mollusca: types—Fresh-water mussel, Apple snail (Fila) and Sopia.

(11) Distinctive characters of the Chordate groups and their leading subdivisions: Hemichorda, Urochorda. Euchords and Vertebrate Classes. Structure and an outline of the life-history of the following types:—

(1) Amphioxus,
(2) A common Teleost,
(3) Dog-fish,
(4) Rana or Bufo,
(5) Calotes,
(6) Pigeon,
(7) Guinea-pig or Rabbit.

(12) Detailed study of (*a*) Skull of Dog, (*b*) Limbs of Horse.
(13) An outline of development of Frog, Chick and Rabbit.

(*Practical.*)

(1) Microscopical examination of types mentioned in Protozoa and Coelenterata and examination of tissues and organs of Earthworm, Leech, Frog and Rabbit.

(2) Dissection of Earthworm, Prawn, Cockroach, Freshwater mussel Teleost, Toad, Pigeon, and Guinea-pig.

(3) Microscopic examination wherever possible of all the types studied. Distribution of theoretical papers will be as follows:—

First paper ...	... Invertebrate
Second paper ...	... General and Chordate

The laboratory note-books of candidates shall be inspected and marked by examiners, and if they are found to be unsatisfactory, the candidate will be disqualified. Note-books which have not been signed at frequent intervals by the teacher under whom the candidates work will not be accepted.

HONOURS COURSE.

(*Theoretical.*)

A more detailed classification of the groups mentioned in the Pass Course.

In addition to the Pass Course following types in the Theoretical course:—

(1) Life-history of Malarial Parasite
(2) Canal system of Sponges,
(3) Sea-anemone and distinctive features of Ctenophera,
(4) Planaria,
(5) An Echiuroid and a Holothurian,
(6) (*a*) General characters of Entomostraca. Life-history of Sacculine,
    (*b*) Scolopendra, Limulus,
    (*c*) Peripatus,
(7) Life-history of Mosquito, Balanoglossus, Ciona. Cyclostomata,
(8) General characters of Dipnoi,
(9) Anatomical peculiarities of Snakes,
(10) Orders of Mammals and their distinctive features.

(Practical.)

The following in addition to the Pass Course :—

(1) Leech, Scorpion, Pond Snail, Scoliodon, Calotes
(2) Staining and mounting in bulk microscopical objects.

Distribution of theoretical papers will be as follows:—

First paper ...	... Invertebrate
Second paper ...	... Chordata
Third paper ...	... General and Embryology
Fourth paper ...	... Essay

The laboratory note-books of candidates shall be inspected and marked by examiners, and if they are found to be unsatisfactory the candidates will be disqualified. Note-books which have not been signed at frequent intervals by the teacher under whom the candidates worked will not be accepted."

The above changes will be given effect to from the examination of 1939.

THE LATE SIR BHUPENDRA NATH MITRA

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
MARCH, 1937

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

WHEN I was invited to address the students at this Convocation of Calcutta University, the infirmity of my worn-out body stood in the way, but the special significance of to-day's function, over-riding all difficulties, has irresistibly drawn me to accept the proud privilege offered to me. For this is the first time that the Premier University of Bengal has given the seat of honour to the Bengali language in the ceremony of its bestowal of academic distinctions, hitherto marred by the ill-omen of the vacancy left by its empty place.

One of the most poignant signs of the days of a people's adversity is that even truisms require to be aggressively proclaimed. Wherefore it has been necessary through long years to labour the point that learning loses its vitamines if strained through a foreign language.

In no country in the world, except India, is to be seen this divorce of the language of instruction from the language of the pupil. A hundred years have not elapsed since Japan took its initiation into Western culture. At the outset she had to take recourse to text-books written in foreign languages, but from the very first, her objective had been to arrive at the stage of ranging freely over the subjects of study in the language of the country. It was because Japan had recognised the need of such studies, not as an ornament for a select section of her citizens, but for giving power and culture to all of them that she deemed it to be of prime importance to make them universally available to her people. And in this effort of Japan to gain proficiency in the Western arts and sciences, which were to give her the means of self-defence against the predatory cupidity of foreign powers, to qualify her to take an honoured place in the comity of nations, no trouble or expense was spared, least of all was there the miserly folly of keeping such learning out of easy reach, within the confines of a foreign language.

We had allowed ourselves too complaisantly to become reconciled to be thus slighted by the dispensers of our fate, to acquiesce in this belittling of the masses of our people, consoled by the scanty helps of learning parsimoniously served to the few occupying the front seats called "educating the people of India." We had lost the courage even to imagine a broader system of education venturing beyond the bounds of such triviality, just as the Bedouin cannot dream that Providence will ever allow him to share in the expansive fruitfulness outside the few scattered oases of his desert homeland.

The difference between the uneducated and the educated sections of our countrymen is exactly like that between the Sahara and the tiny oases that dot its vast expanse,—both in quantity and quality. For this reason, though we are under one political domination, we are not governed by the same mentality. Of late in Japan, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, everywhere amongst Eastern peoples, measures have been taken to get rid of this internal source of division leading to futility of national aspiration,—everywhere, save in this unfortunate land.

We know of parasitic creatures in the animal world, which live and die in utter dependance on their hosts. They are able to eke out a bare living, but are forever crippled in the development of their limbs and organs. Such has been the case with our modern university education. It has from its inception been parasitic on a foreign tongue, so that though nourishment has not been altogether lacking, it has been obtained at the cost of all-round development,—so much so, that it has even ceased to be sensible of its own abortiveness.

Accustomed to live by borrowing, it has come to measure attainment by largeness of debt: It has signed a bond of servitude to the thinkers of other lands. Those who receive such education cannot produce what they consume. Brought up to absorb the thoughts of others, their academic success depends on their ability to repeat by rote, and their own faculty of thought, their courage of conviction,. their creative inspiration. have all been enfeebled. It goes without saying that the only way of revival from such chronic debility is by the assimilation and application of the subject-matter of education through one's own language, just as, in order to incorporate foodstuffs into the body, they have to be chewed with one's own teeth and saturated with one's own digestive juices.

Of course it will not do to forget that the English language cannot lose a place of honour in Indian universities, not merely because of its practical usefulness as a means of livelihood, but because it is the vehicle of the Western science which to-day has earned the respect of all the world. To repudiate it out of a sense of false patriotism would only be to curtail our own opportunities. This science is not only important in the field of world economics and politics as a means of self-preservation, but its influence is of immense value for freeing the mind from the inertia of stupidity. The mind which refuses to admit its message, which is unable to accept its implications needs must be content with a narrow, dark and feeble life. From whatever horizon the light of knowledge may radiate, it is only a clouded, barbaric mind that rejects it because of its unfamiliarity. All races and peoples are equally entitled to avail themselves of Truth in any of its manifestations, for this is a right inherent in humanity itself.

Men are inevitably separate in regard to their share of political or economic wealth, but in the case of bestowal of the largesse of mind, all men who come to receive, have everywhere and always been accounted equal,—the giver being rewarded by the generosity of his giving, the receiver glorying in his own competence to take. In all countries, the doors of the storehouse of material wealth are strongly guarded, while the university gates are ever wide open. The Goddess of Riches is careful, because her accumulations are limited by quantity, they are lost when spent ; and the Goddess of Learning is lavish, because her wealth does not depend on accumulation, but grows as it overflows.

I venture to think that it is a matter of special pride for Bengal that she did not delay in claiming her share of European culture, by contact with which she hastened the growth and enrichment of her own language and literature, and which by its very influence enabled her to overcome the initial weakness of a tendency to imitation. In the first stages, those who were reputed to be learned, exclusively used the English language in speech and writing, for through it their new wealth of thought and feeling had been chiefly gained ; nevertheless those of them who were literary men soon came to perceive that while they could work by the candle-light of a foreign language, they could not awaken to true self-expression except in the morning light on their own language. We have two outstanding examples of this, in Michael Dutt and Bankim Chatterjee.

Michael's acquaintance with English language and literature was as wide as his love for them was deep, and he had moreover wandered into the realm of Greek and Latin classics and had tasted of their nectar. So his genius naturally first sought to express itself in English. But it did not take him long to realise that the heavy loss of interest entailed by reliance on borrowed material, left but little of residual value, whereupon he made his first salutation to his mother tongue with a poem, in the language of which there was nothing of the faltering hesitations of a neophyte. True, its outward form followed a foreign model, but its conceits and imageries were of the indigenous 'Krittibas' pattern, with which hospitality was shown to the genius of Milton and Homer. There is no ingloriousness in offering such hospitality, rather, that both betokens wealth and helps to augment it.

What Michael did for Bengali poetry, Bankimchandra did for Bengali prose —he cleared the way for its advance. Bankim was one of the foremost of the first batch of students of Calcutta University, and it need hardly be added that his mind had thrived and grown on English learning. His first literary enterprise was a story in Englsh under the influence of English fiction, only to make him discover soon enough, the futility of such attempts. The very culture he had imbibed, because it had been assimilated, drew him to seek its fulfilment in his own language. As, when the water-fall from the distant mountain top pursues its way through the populous valley, it makes fruitful the fields alongside by causing the seeds within them to grow, so Bankim utilised the foreign stream of thought to fertilise the mental soil of his country through his own mother-tongue.

Before the time of Bankim Chandra, the educated section of our countrymen had come to the conclusion that their own enjoyment of beauty and quest of truth could only be carried on in the fields of European literature, while the Bengali language. with its comparative poverty, was fit only to act as nurse to those of little learning. But Bankim's endeavour in his 'Bangadarshan' was to make available the power of full-fledged English lore, by giving it Bengali form. It was in the genius of these heralds of the new age, that the fruits of European culture, with all the possibilities of their future ripening, were first manifest, not as exotics demanding a price, but as a crop raised in the country, adding to its wealth. What if the seeds came from foreign parts, did they not fall and sprout on our own soil ? That which can grow and flourish in the country no longer remains foreign. In many a flower and fruit of our land are there evidences of this truth.

The significance of the new knowledge learnt through the English language has found its way into every Bengali home, having taken on a Bengali body in our own literature. We now hopefully await its arrival on the same intimate terms, within the portals of this University. And I am here to-day to bring a message of joy and pride from our countrymen, to give voice to their hope that this University of Bengal will find its true glory in gaining intimacy with the people of its province through their natural language.

But for this, I had not the wherewithal to pay the price of my entry here. The short period of my early schooling was spent on the lowest floor of our educational tower. Later, in my first youth, I ventured shrinkingly, at the behest of my elders, to enter for a day the First-year Class of the Presidency College, as a casual student. That day was never followed by a second. There must have been something excessively incongruous in my looks and demeanour with that of the regular students, for I was greeted with a gust of suppressed laughter which made me acutely feel the misfit. The next day I failed to muster up the courage to face a repetition of this ordeal, nor did I dare to imagine that I would ever again be called upon to cross the threshold of the University, to take a seat beside its qualified inmates. By virtue, however, of the merit acquired by the service of my mother-tongue, such undreamt of privilege has at length fallen to my lot.

We cannot but admit that the present age is dominated by the civilisation of Europe. This age has presented a background of strenuous endeavour to all the world, on which the thoughts and deeds of men are appearing in ever-new variety of form, and are spreading as a unifying influence over the whole of the civilised world. It would not have been possible for the science and literature, history, economics and politics, the technique of research and of the testing of truth, born on the soil of Europe, thus to permeate the world, had they not stood the test of experimental application, had the mind of Europe not won universal recognition by reason of the honesty and earnestness of its striving, impelling all the newly awakened countries to adopt the same studies, the same methods, the same attitude of mind.

Now, almost everywhere, schools and colleges and universities are looked upon as means of irrigating the mass mind and sowing it with the seeds of the new knowledge. I have seen for myself a country that has displayed an amazing power of removing the stupendous obstacle of illiteracy, massed up during ages of neglect, within a short space of time, with the result that its down-trodden proletariat, reduced to the verge of the extinction of their humanity within the dumb darkness of lack of self-expression, now stand forth in the forefront of go-ahead nations by the exercise of their liberated powers.

But, all this while, our universities,—poorly equipped, scantily respected, lacking encouragement,—have been plying monotonously like little ferry boats, carrying their handful of students over the meagre subjects set for their examinations. These universities of ours have touched no more than the outermost fringe of the great mass mind, and even that contact is of the lightest, bereft as it is of all vitality in passing through its foreign covering. Wherefore, far behind the other Eastern nations in which the call to awake has been heard, lags India in regard to self-respect awakened in the light of self-knowlege.

On behalf of writers in Bengali, and for myself, I would claim that we have been engaged in the work of implanting modern culture in the heart of our country. This spontaneous activity of ours has long been ignored by our University, which never invited its co-operation, for it used to look down on our work as something different in kind from its own.

7

The gulf between the two was first bridged by Sir Asutosh when he made bold to bestow a doctorate on this humble writer in Bengali. Great was the daring required to do this, for the exclusiveness of the artificial aristocracy of English learning had become a deep-rooted tradition. But valiant Sir Asutosh felt no qualms in delivering such blow against this aristocratic pride entrenched in a foreign language. He first sent this friendly greeting to his mother-tongue from the top of the University tower, and then followed it up, with cautious skill, by carving a channel below, through which the Bengali language could flow into its precincts. That channel has now been widened by his worthy son and successor for which cur present Vice-Chancellor deserves the blessings of his motherland.

For me, a writer in the vernacular, unpurified by the university rites of initiation, Sir Asutosh first broke one of its unwritten laws ; and one more knot of their bonds has now been cut by his son in inviting me, that same academic outcaste, to address you in our own language. This shows that a veritable change of climate has come over our educational world in Bengal, and the dry branch that had withered at the wintry touch of Western influence, is now festively putting forth fresh foliage.

Elsewhere in India, another university has recently been seen to make the attempt to use as its medium of instruction the language, if not of the people as a whole, at least of a considerable section of them, and its authorities have already achieved a marvellous success. This unexpected fulfilment of such hitherto unheard of idea, is doubtless for them a thing to glory in. But the present ambition of Calcutta University has for its larger objective the whole of its countrymen. Though some of the limbs of our Bengali-speaking province have been cut asunder by the hatchet of its rulers, this gesture of our University still amounts to proclaiming its recognition of the language of 50 millions as its own. By thus honouring its own country this University stands honoured. And to the memory of the great Sir Asutosh, who heralded the advent of this auspicious day, I offer on behalf of us all our respectful salutation.

I am aware that latterly a bitter protest has gone forth from the Eastern world against the claim to greatness of European civilisation and culture. It is doubtless advancing at a great rate in the accumulation of material wealth, but the greatness of man is not in his outward possessions. The greed, rapacity and political trickery that emanate from the Western powers ruthlessly to trample underfoot the rights of weaker countries, have never before in the history of man been seen in such fearsome shape. Man has never been able in the past to give his unbridled passions such monstrous proportions, such skilful, undefeatable efficiency. That has become possible for the West to-day because of its command of science.

When in the beginning or middle of the Nineteenth Century we made our first acquaintance with European civilisation, our joy and admiration freely went out to it in the belief that it had come into the world animated with a genuine respect for man as man ; we felt certain that truth, devotion, justice and goodwill towards men were its essential characteristics ; we thought that it had taken on itself the duty of freeing mankind from every kind of external and internal bondage. But as the years went by, within the short span of our own life-time, we have seen this love of humanity, this sense of justice, growing feebler and feebler, till at last there is left no civilised Court of Appeal where the plaint of the persecuted against the powerful oppressor has any chance of being heard on the ground of righteousness.

The once-famous sponsors of the civilisation are now devoting all their intellect and wealth to produce inhuman engines of destruction to rend and maim one another. Such mutual mistrust, such mortal terror, between man and man, no other age has ever witnessed. The firmament above man's work-a-day world from which comes his light, through which is heard his call to liberation, is now murky with the dust raised by continual conflict thick with the germs of moral death.

The grand old civilisations of old, of which we have still preserved the memory, chiefly strove with all their powers to keep this higher region clear and undefiled, its pure light unobstructed. Such endeavour is now-a-days scoffed at by the modern unbelievers in eternal Truth and Right. Such objective is deemed utterly unworthy of the uppermost exploiting nations who plume themselves on being predestined by nature cruelly to overwhelm the earth with their domination. The whole Western continent trembles under the mad war-dance of their civilisation, now intoxicated with insatiable greed. With what face, then, am I to expatiate on the merits of the culture in which the expedient is thus divorced from the good, of the civilisation which is thus staggering, bemused, towards its own destruction ?

"But in the history and literature of this same civilisation, have we not, one day, seen its true love for man ? What if it is now mocking its own higher self ?—I cannot dismiss the signs of its greatness of heart that we have seen, as an illusory mirage : I will not say that the brilliance of its rise and falls, and that it is the darkness of its debasement which is true. Civilisation has, on many an occasion, taken false steps, proved untrue to itself, repudiated its own supreme gift to humanity. We have beheld the same unfortunate lapses in our own country, as well as outside it. In every chapter of history the glory of humanity has had its fall. But whenever some invaluable truth has found expression in any shape or form, it has won the allegiance of mankind, even when standing on the rubbish heaps of its decayed outward magnificance.

Europe has provided the world with the gifts of great culture,—had it not the power to do so, it would never have attained its supremacy. It has given the example of dauntless courage, ungrudging self-sacrifice, it has shown tireless energy in the acquisition and spread of knowledge, in the making of institutions for human welfare. Even in these days of its self abasement, there are still before us its true representatives who are ready to suffer punishment in their fearless protest against its iniquities, in their chivalrous championship of its victims. They may be defeated again and again, for the time, yet in them is to be seen the true ideal of their civilisation. The inspiration that holds them steadfast to their best instincts, through all the outrage and degeneracy around them,—that inspiration is the truth dwelling in the heart of Western civilisation. It is from that we have to learn, not from the disastrous self-degradation of the modern Western nations.

To you, young students, who are assembled here to-day, prepared to go forth through the gate of this University to conquer the world before you, I offer my cordial congratulations. It is you who will bear the seed of a great promise towards its fulfilment.

The sea of humanity around you is tumultuous with high waves of contending passions. It is as if the Gods and Titans are once again churning it to raise humanity from the depth of the departing age to the shore of the next. This time, also, the churning rope is a serpent; the serpent of greed, which is vomiting forth its poison. But, as yet, we see no sign of all-beneficent, death-conquering Shiva coming to rescue humanity by absorbing this poison.

We in India are on the shore of this terribly turbulent sea of Time. It has not been given to us directly to take our share in piloting the world through its buffetings. But the drag of the maelstrom is upon us from without, and within, also the advancing waves of chaos are beating right and left. Well-nigh insoluble problems rise to confront our country, one after another. Communal, separatism and dissension are taking menacing shape, polluting the very source of our well-being. The solution of these problems may not be easy, but if not found, we shall descend lower and lower into the abyss.

There was a time when culture, fellow-feeling and prosperity reigned in our villages. Go to them now and you will see the fang marks of the reptile of dissolution that bestrides them. Pestilential maladies born of poverty, of physical and mental starvation, are eating away their vitality. It is for us ourselves to think out where the remedy lies—but not by means of ignorant imaginings, not by dint of fearful outbursts. Defeated you may be, but you must vow that defeat shall not come by your deserting the helm in fright, or because you foolishly deem it glorious to commit suicide by jumping into the raging waves.

We are too readily inclined to be sentimental. We cannot arrive at the determination to pursue our endeavour with steady dispassion. Take up your country's burden manfully, in the light of your own intelligence freed from the vagueness of unrealities, facing and knowing the folly, the ugliness, the imperfections that beset you for what they really are; not exaggerating them according to your particular bias. Where in fact our fate is every-day insulting us, depriving us, hampering us at every turn—there to delude ourselves with home-made claims to superiority, is one of the worst symptoms of our feebleness of character.

If you would truly set to work, you must begin by realising that the seeds of our downfall are within us, deeply imbedded in our character, our society, our habits, our unreasoning prejudices. Whenever I see our people seeking to throw the responsibility for our evil lot on some outside circumstances, to lay the blame for our ill-success solely on the enmity of some alien party, to remain content with shouting their plaints into the unresponsive void, my heart cries out, as did old King Dhritarashtra: "Then do I despair of victory !"

The day has come for us to sally forth against our internal enemies, to deliver a massed attack on the age-old follies that are the rea

7

roots of our misfortune. We must raise our own powers out of the slough of 'tāmasik' inertness into which they have fallen, and then only can we hope to make honourable peace with the power of our opponents ; otherwise any truce that we may patch up will be one in which we are bound hand and foot in the chains of beggary and indebtedness. We can only rouse the best in others, by means of the best in ourselves, and in this best will lie the welfare of both. Full of holes are the vessels into which are cast the reluctant doles granted to the prayers of the weak ; of quicksand is the foundation on which rest the favours so obtained.

Let honour come to me from Thee
Through a call to some desperate task
    In the pride of poignant suffering.
Lull me not into languid dreams,
Shake me out of this cringing in the dust,
Out of the fetters that shackle our mind,
    Make futile our destiny,
Out of the unreason that bends our dignity down
Under the indiscriminate feet of dictators,
Shatter this age-long shame of ours
    and raise our head
        into the boundless sky,
        into the generous light,
        into the air of freedom.*

---

* Authorised English rendering of the Convocation Address delivered in Bengal on February 17, 1937.

CHANCELLOR'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT is not my intention to speak at length or to stand between you and the distinguished visitor who this year is delivering the Convocation address.

There are, however, a few words I should like to say on this last occasion when I shall address you in Convocation as Chancellor of the University. First let me express my congratulations to those who now have received degrees and awards, and my best wishes to the University as a whole for its continued progress and prosperity.

During the years that I have held this high office—for the Chancellorship of a University is a high office—it has not been open to me to develop that degree of intimate and personal relationship with its academic activities, and with those who direct such activities in detail, that more leisured times might have made possible. I have, however, through the medium of the Vice-Chancellor endeavoured to keep in touch with developments of importance in the policy of the University, both academic and fiscal, and I have followed with special interest those measures which seemed to me calculated to have the greatest effect on the lives and character of its alumni.

Though the office of Chancellor goes automatically to the Governor of Bengal I may fairly say that I have never regarded the Chancellorship as a mere appendage to the Governorship of Bengal—but on the other hand, enjoying as Chancellor the advantage of exceptionally easy access to the Governor, I have always been in a position to lay before the latter as the head of the administration what I have conceived to be the legitimate views of the University.

Looking forward across the very brief span that now separates us from responsible Government in Bengal when the Governor himself will normally be relieved of any responsibility for the policy of the State as regards the University, I cannot but think he may still have opportunities for service in the discharge of the office of Chancellor.

7 I have no desire now to dilate upon this theme or indeed to encroach at all upon matters that may fall within the sphere of party

politics—but aware as I constantly am of the profound—I may justly say revolutionary—changes that are upon us in the principles of Government in this province I cannot help asking myself in what direction this University can make the greatest contribution to the national life of Bengal; I am tempted to answer as follows—by striving to raise the general level of quality among those who come under its influence and by inculcating a true conception of constructive leadership. I have used the word quality deliberately because in these days quality is not a characteristic always associated with mass production. To combine the two demands the continuous application of high standards—both in the selection of raw material and in the rejection or remodelling at every stage of components that fail to come up to specification.

I make bold to state as a historical truth that the advancement of a people by their own efforts depends in the main upon two things—first the average standard of quality attained by the people themselves and secondly their inherent capacity to throw up from time to time as circumstances may require leaders of the requisite calibre.

For more than a century and a half it has been a constant feature in the life of this Province that its development has been conditioned by reaction to outside influences. Extraneous influences have sometimes inspired, sometimes restrained, sometimes provoked: and in turn leaders among the people of Bengal have appeared sometimes as enthusiastic propagators, interpreters or adaptors of western ideas, sometimes as ardent reformers chafing at the slow progress of change, and at other times as rebels against the whole conception of external authority in any form; but always or nearly always reaction to or against external influence has been the stimulus and the focus of interest.

In all that concerns most closely the daily lives of the people of Bengal that stimulus is going to be withdrawn—that focus of interest is going to disappear. No doubt there will be a tendency to keep the stimulus alive, to search and scrutinize the activities of future Governments for some trace of the hidden hand of external authority; but such tendencies will not bring any nearer to solution the problems of health, education and economic well-being for which a remedy will be demanded by the people from Governments responsible to themselves. The things that matter are no longer to be had from a third party as a boon to be sought or a concession to be wrested: they are to be devised and constructed by those among the people who aspire to leadership. The days of leadership against something are passing and the call will be for leadership to something. I venture to say that if the Universities cannot produce men to answer that call they will fail to fulfil their function in the national life.

It is the function of a leader as I understand it to try and bring out the best among his people and not to hesitate to correct their weaknesses—for every nation and every community has its weaknesses: if instead leaders of the people try to follow the easier course—to appeal to weaknesses or to encourage tendencies that they know to be adverse to sound development then the result will be not progress but decline and disaster.

I have put these thoughts forward because it has been long in my mind to do so and I can think of no better place to speak them out frankly than in the precincts of this University.

To elaborate them would render me suspect of attempting to deliver Convocation address of my own, and I assure you that having myself suggested the delivery of that address by a distinguished visitor I have no intention of usurping his place.

Let me now stand aside and leave you to hear one who in the world of letters long ago discarded the easy path and in face of criticism and opposition sought out and developed the latent strength and beauty of the Bengali language. I have been told on good authority that some thirty years ago when the suggestion, ultimately given effect to at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in 1913, was first mooted, that the Degree of Doctor of Literature should be conferred on Rabindranath, objections were raised on the ground that he was not a Bengali scholar. But his creative leadership in the world of letters has won its own recognition and to-day we are to listen for the first time to a Convocation address in Bengali by one who has earned the right to rank as a leader among the creators of the modern language of Bengal.*

---

* Delivered at the Annual Convocation by His Excellency the Chancellor of this University on February 17, 1937.

OUR EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L., BAR.-AT-LAW,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

TWELVE months have rapidly gone by since we last met in Convocation and it is again my pleasant duty to extend to you all a cordial welcome on behalf of the University. Circumstances beyond our control and anticipation forced us to cancel our ceremony on Saturday last and we sincerely regret the inconvenience caused to the large number of our guests and students. We could not meet this year in the historic hall of Senate House which is proving inadequate for the ever-increasing number of graduates awaiting to be admitted to their degrees. We have therefore assembled within the precincts of our nearest neighbour, an ancient institution, rich with noble traditions, and a nursery of generations of men devoted to the welfare of their country.

In another respect we have departed to-day from an age-long custom. The principal address at to-day's Convocation is to be delivered not by any one directly connected with the University, but by an eminent guest to whom I offer, on behalf of the University and of you all, a sincere and respectful welcome. Last year at the suggestion of the Chancellor, we decided to make this departure in our programme. We approached the Poet with our invitation but circumstances prevented him from complying with our request. As the University wanted to have him and none else to deliver the first address, we repeated our invitation this year. Patience has brought its reward and we genuinely rejoice to have the Poet in our midst to-day. To the University he does not come as a stranger. We feel proud to count him as one of our honorary graduates, who has all along taken deep interest in the development of study and research in Bengali at this University and who was himself for some time associated with this department.

His presence at the Convocation at a time when we are about to launch upon a vigorous policy of making our mother-tongue the basis of instruction and examination is not without significance. The new regulations for the Matriculation Examination are now being introduced in our schools and we confidently expect that they will mark the beginning of a new epoch of cultural development. We can never remain satisfied with making the language of the province the medium of instruction in high schools. That constitutes only one of the means which the University must adopt in order to instil a new life and vigour into its educational system. The University has recently decided to invite the co-operation of well-known writers in bringing out a series of books in Bengali dealing with various subjects, in arts, science, politics, history, sociology, economics and religion, written in a manner which will make useful knowledge accessible to all. This scheme is fraught with great possibilities not merely for the growth of Bengali literature but also for raising the standard of intellectual equipment of the province as a whole, affecting the outlook and activities of every Bengali anxious to make his contribution towards the solidarity to national resources.

I do not propose in my address to-day to deal exhaustively with the varied activities of the University during the past year. I should, however, assure the members of the Convocation and the sympathetic public that, notwithstanding difficulties and obstacles, we have tried to keep the flag of progress flying. Our teachers and advanced students have nobly carried on their duty of making contributions to the advancement of knowledge and progress of ideas in diverse branches of arts and science. Although English was never prescribed as the necessary language for a thesis, we have to-day awarded for the first time the degree of doctor of philosophy to a successful candidate who wrote his thesis in Bengali and for this he deserves our special congratulations. We have steadily encouraged higher study and research by young and brilliant workers whose single-minded pursuit of learning deserves the highest commendation.

We have adhered to the practice of sending out selected teachers and scholars to foreign seats of learning and they worthily represented us in various countries in Europe, in the United States of America, in South America and in the Far East. In the selection of their subjects for study and investigation, we have paid attention to the needs of various branches of Arts and Science, and have laid due emphasis on technical and industrial training. One of our scholars, himself suffering from blindness from the beginning of his educational career, has been sent to America where he is being specially instructed in the methods for the education of the blind. We have invited distinguished scholars and visitors to come to this University and deliver courses of lectures for the benefit of our teachers and students one of whom is Sir William Holdsworth, the eminent English writer of Legal History, who has agreed to visit Calcutta next cold weather. Here I may recall that our invitation to the Indian Science Congress to hold its joint-session with the British Association in Calcutta in January, 1938, has been accepted and we expect that our city will be the temporary home of eminent men of science gathered from all parts of the world and also of fellow-workers from other parts of India.

We have continued the task of publishing valuable books and treatises on various subjects like history and politics, language and literature, religion and philosophy, law, mathematics, anthropology and fine arts, mainly contributed by our teachers and advanced students. In addition to the Journals of the Departments of Letters and Science, we have been helping in the publication of as many as six journals of scientific societies whose activities are not confined either to this city or province, thereby aiming at the dissemination of knowledge affecting the intellectual status of India as a whole. The syllabuses and curicula in several subjects in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine and Engineering have been revised thus raising their standards and extending their scope and utility.

The work of the Teachers' Training Department has expanded and it was called upon to look after the needs of about 500 school teachers in the course of the year. We are glad to find that the increased library facilities are being taken advantage of by our professors and students and as many as 93,000 volumes were issued to them during the year as against 46,000 last year. The Students' Welfare Department, the University Rowing Club, the University Training Corps, the Athletic Club and other bodies entrusted with the organisation of the health and welfare of the students have actively carried on their work and have gained in strength, efficiency and popularity.

We are going ahead with the details of the schemes of women's education, of military studies and of business and industrial training recently adopted by the Senate. As regards endowments we express our gratitude to Mrs. Biva Mookerjee for her gift of Rs. 23,000 intended for medical research in memory of her late husband Captain Kalyankumar Mookerjee, the first Bengali to have won the Military Cross, who died in Turkey while a prisoner of war. I have also to announce a donation of Rs. 25,000 for the department of Communication Engineering from the Charity Trust Fund created by the late Rai Bahadur Mokhram Kanodia of Howrah, thanks to the kindness and generosity of his heirs. Till now this is the largest gift to this University made by the Marwari community and I confidently hope it will be followed by others.

Though these and other activities of the University represent the deliberate efforts on the part of its members to serve the cause of education and progress, let me assure you that we always feel impressed by the fact that much yet remains to be done, if we are ever to help the University to attain its cherished goal. We summoned the other day a conference of principals of affiliated colleges and I rejoice to say that we witnessed there, as indeed we witness in other directions, a genuine desire to combine all available resources and strive wholeheartedly for increasing the strength and efficiency of our educational institutions thus further advancing the usefulness of the University. There is so much work to be done in the ever-expanding sphere of education that it may well occupy the lifelong labours of generations of sincere and unselfish men and women belonging to all classes and communities. We want men and workers ; we want freedom to initiate new and far-reaching policies of expansion and improvement. Above all, let me reiterate that no reform of an extensive character will ever be attained unless both the state and public-spirited citizens offer their generous assistance to the University and to its colleges and schools.

Fellow-graduates, you are about to enter the arena of life at one of the most critical periods of the history of our province. While you will demand from the University and the educational institutions the right type of training and instruction which will make you men of character, full of vital impulses and ready to take an active and honourable part in all spheres of life, the University cannot obviously undertake the responsibility of finding a suitable career for each and every one of you. I do not claim that the instruction and training that we are imparting to-day are entirely of the right type or that the response which the students give is always adequate and satisfactory. But you must have noticed that we are steadily attempting to reorganise our system so that it may better serve the changing needs of the country and respond to the living problems of life. So far as lies in our power, we will continue to work in that direction, notwithstanding obstacles and opposition.

But the great problem of the hour is not merely to provide the right kind of training, not merely to save the educational system from being turned into a soulless machine, but to rouse public opinion and to focus the attention of all on the supreme necessity of finding new avenues of occupation and fresh vocations and careers for the hundreds and thousands of youths who are being produced by our Universities. We resolutely oppose the policy of restricting education urged on the ground that suitable opportunities for work cannot be found for all University-trained men. We do so, not on any abstract principle nor for any sentimental reason. We do so, because we firmly believe that if our country is to be raised to an independent status, enjoying liberty and self-respect, it can be done primarily through the agency of unselfish and patriotic youths, men and women who shine in deeds and not in words, who in their thousands will be called upon to dedicate their lives to the task of social and educational, economic and agricultural, industrial and political uplift of the millions of their brethren, whose voice to-day is choked under the deadening influence of poverty and disease, of strife and dissension, of ignorance and superstition.

Who, I ask, can ever undertake this gigantic task of national reconstruction, which will signify the emergence of our Motherland from the shackles of oppression and servility, but a race of Indian youths, proud of their culture and traditions, armed with Western skill and knowledge, fearless and straightforward, determined to work and stand united under a common banner of progress and service. The men are here and more will come if we want them. There stand the mighty problems of reconstruction, apparently baffling solution. The stupendous task cannot be directly organised by any seat of learning, whose duty will be mainly to provide society with men and women trained according to correct systems and ideals. In the corporate interest of the nation, it will be the paramount duty of the State and of men and organisations capable of influencing our destinies, not to permit so much idealism, enthusiasm and trained skill to be wasted or turned into unproductive and undesirable channels, but to take them up with boldness and sympathy and to employ them in diverse fields of activity, calculated to bring in their train an era of peace, progress and prosperity.

Such a project of expansion and constructive work requires for its fulfilment a drastic revision of many of the existing policies of the

State and other organisations ; it will involve a vast expenditure of money ; it will require ceaseless and persistent efforts, combined with courage, honesty and sincerity of purpose, which must never fail in the face of difficulties and opposition. I fervently hope and trust that it may be given to men and women educated at this University to help to formulate such a far-reaching scheme of national reconstruction, capable of gradual accomplishment, to educate public opinion on its great potentialities, to organise the active support and co-operation of all sections and parties in the community and to place it before the nation as an irresistible demand,—a demand which requires fulfilment not for the mere purpose of finding work and occupation for those who are entitled to them, but for the larger interests of the province, for its healthy development and progress and for freeing it from the bondage of perpetual dependence and domination.[1]

---

[1] Delivered as the Convocation Address on 17th February 1937.

THE REMAKING OF RELIGION FROM RAMAKRISHNA TO RAMAKRISHNA-VIVEKANANDA.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

IN regard to the gospel of Ramakrishna the chief interest today lies in ascertaining as to whether in this epoch of technocracy, industrialism, exact sciences and machine-mindedness, his teachings are likely to be useful to the men and women of India and the world.

There is no doubt that Ramakrishna's spiritual experiences combined with the self-control, self-sacrifice and social service activities of the Swamis of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement constitute the living religion of a large number of Hindus in the twentieth century. Besides, Ramakrishna is being honoured by the most diverse races of mankind and in the highest intellectual centres in Asia, Europe, Africa and America.

And yet be it observed, Ramakrishna cannot be identified with the movement for any particular Hindu gods, rituals, religions, scriptures or institutions. Ramakrishna did not promulgate a religion. Ramakrishna was not the exponent of any ethical code or system of morals either. No set of commandments and duties or virtues and vices can be discovered in Ramakrishna's *Kathamrita*, the nectar of his words. It would be difficult also to discover in Ramakrishna's teachings any advocacy or propaganda in regard to caste-reforms, race-uplift and other social questions. And as for the questions of constitutional progress, nationality, provincial autonomy, federation or the like, Ramakrishna had no message whatsoever.

Where, then, lie Ramakrishna's claims to recognition by the East and the West as a world-teacher, as a re-maker of religion ? They are to be found in some very elemental characteristics.

Ramakrishna functioned as the guide and the friend to all and sundry in regard to the most fundamental questions of daily life. He spoke to the individual man and woman of flesh and blood and tried to evoke in their personalities just those human qualities which enable persons to flourish in the world. In the East as well as the West, human beings,—the richest and the poorest, the expert and the layman, the businessman, the scholar, the lawyer, the peasant and the workingman,—all are subject to diffidence in the concerns of the day-to-day round of duties. Ramakrishna's teachings enable the meanest of human beings as well as the mightiest to combat diffidence and acquire self-confidence in the pursuit of life. Cowardice is another vice which attacks human nature under certain conditions both in the East and the West. In the atmosphere of Ramakrishna men and women, no matter what be the race, profession or earnings, learn to pick up courage and advance boldly in their walks of life.

Ramakrishna has delivered a gospel of strength with which human beings can overpower the thousand and one frailties of worldly existence. That is why Ramakrishna has been accepted as a teacher by the merchants, industrialists, lawyers, medical men, scholars, as well as by persons belonging to the most varied economic professions. Ramakrishna has, therefore, been a prophet for every corner of the globe ; and as long as there is human nature with its tendencies to diffidence, cowardice, and weakness his teachings are destined to be the energiser of human souls. He is thus in a special sense a prophet of the young and the new individuals, groups as well as races. Everybody and every community that is trying to start on a new concern, business or other enterprise, cultural or social, is likely to find in Ramakrishna the most appropriate guide, philosopher and friend. His messages of self-confidence, courage and power are just adapted to the requirements of those individuals or groups which have no past and no history, which indeed are submerged and repressed,—in order that they may commence their careers of world-conquest.

It is, again, the householders, the men and women who have to live on earthly earth and make their homes prosperous, healthy and dignified, for whom Ramakrishna spoke his words of nectar. In his sociology or metaphysics of values *Jiva* (man) = *Shiva* (God). The formulation of this equation by Ramakrishna enables us to establish an identity between service to man and service to or worship of God. We are again and again rendered conscious that he was not constructing a " kingdom that is not of this world." This is the most marked characteristic in the sayings of Ramakrishna. He was a positivist, a teacher of the worldly duties in the most emphatic sense. On the other hand, Ramakrishna's perpetual emphasis on the spirit and the soul is epoch-making. He has taught mankind that with this instrument men and women can demolish the discouraging conditions of the surrounding world and transform them in the interest of the expansion of life. And we are enabled to feel all the time that Ramakrishna's idealism and transcendentalism were of the highest order. The freedom of personality is a concept by which Ramakrishna has succeeded in electrifying the mentality of the middle classes, the higher classes, and the lower classes of the human society.

Altogether, as embodying the synthesis of the positive and idealistic, Ramakrishna has furnished the young and the new with the tremendous psychology of world-conquest, of supremacy over the bonds of nature, of emancipation from the fetters of society. And it is on the strength of this synthesis that an India of economic energism and cultural creativeness,—an India of material prosperity and idealistic social service,—has been absorbing the interest of constructive thinkers and statesmen of Young India.[1]

At the present moment it is possible to say that mankind has something like a Ramakrishna empire. It is the new Hindu Empire of the twentieth century, furnished as it is with colonies of Hindu culture and spirituality in Asia, Europe, Africa and the two Americas. The ideals that inspire these colonies of the Greater India of today are none other than those of humanity and brotherhood. The *Leitmotif* of this spiritual empire is to be seen in *yata mat tata path* (as many faiths, so many paths), freedom of conscience and inter-racial concord. A world-wide republic of religion and morality is in this manner coming into existence.

The Ramakrishna Empire has been seeking to establish under modern conditions the traditional Hindu *Pax Sarva-bhaumica* (peace of the world-state or universal kingdom).[1] And this is being rendered possible not with material possessions and the ways and means such as are accessible to persons favourably placed in the diplomatic perspectives but by methods natural to those who have renounced the world and do not possess bank accounts. It is the poor, the penniless and the self-sacrificing band of Swamis, men whose sole capital is the name of Ramakrishna and sole captainship the example of Vivekananda that are responsible for the platform of equality, harmony and mutual appreciation between the nations that is being established in this world-wide *chakravarti-kshetra* (territory of the universal sovereign).

---

[1] The present author's *Might of Man in the Social Philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda* (Madras, 1936).

The work of this "Spiritual General Staff," as the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission may be called, in the world's interracial relations, is of the most substantial importance.

Hinduism has ever been the religion of *charaiveti* (march on) and *digvijaya* (world-conquest), of dynamism and progress, as proclaimed in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII, 15, VIII, 1, 39). In Hinduism is to be found the cult of power, activity and manhood. The *Purusha* (Man) of the *Atharva Veda* (XII, i, 54) declares his ambitions to the Earth as follows:

Aham asmi sahamana
Uttaro nama bhumyam
Abhishadasmi vishwashad
Asham asham vishasahi.

"Mighty am I, Superior by name, upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region."

The deification of man was promoted by the mighty *Rishis* of Vedic India. The *Upanishads*, the Buddhist *Dhammapada*, the *Vedanta* and the *Gita* have likewise taught men and women to be conscious of their *parakrama* (might) and their *viriya* (strength) and of their privilege to transform and recreate the world. It is nothing but strength, energy, courage, and hope as well as the advances of civilization fostered by these qualities that the *Puranas* and the *Tantras* have proclaimed to the dwellers of rural cottages and forest homes. It is through these media that the facts of world-progress as engendered by *yugantaras* (transformations of epochs or revolutions) have become integral factors of Hindu folk-consciousness.

The *shaktiyoga* (energism) and progress cult of the Hindus were not extinguished in any age of Indian civilization. During the nineteenth century, again, the Indian people was taught by Ramakrishna to spurn humility, worm-like weakness and despair.[1] And the *Upanishads* were mobilized by Vivekananda to propagate the "strength enough to invigorate the whole world."[2]

The evolution of Hinduism, Hindu arts and Hindu sciences through the ages has always carried along with it the elevation and progress of the most varied tribes, races and nations. To-day the progress of mankind is being consummated with remarkable strenousness and tenacity by the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, and this deserves by all means to be emphasized. The categories of Ramakrishna might have become things of the past with his passing away in 1886 had there been no Vivekananda to take them up and make them current coin for the East and the West. Humanly speaking, again, in 1902 with Vivekananda's death the world might have heard no more either of himself or of his master. Both might have been drowned, further, in the epoch-making "ideas of 1905." But Vivekananda's colleagues and followers have succeeded in accomplishing a miracle, as it were, by assuring immortality to their Prophet and their Leader.

---

[1] *The Teachings of Sri Ramakrishna* (Calcutta, 1934), No. 518.
[2] *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* (Calcutta), Vol. III, pp. 223-224, 237-238.

Many of them were born of the "ideas of 1905" or reborn with those ideas ; and all of them knew how to utilize those ideas in order to build up the Order left by their Great Exemplar, Vivekananda. They have grown to be the architects of the third stage, so to say, of the Ramakrishna philosophy of life and the universe. It is indeed questionable if Ramakrishna or Vivekananda could become the power that they are to-day without the sincerity and doggedness of their successors and torch-bearers. Some of them specialize in *jnana* (intellectualism), others in *karma* (activism) while all are inspired by the common cult of *bhakti* or devotion to the great ideals of self-sacrifice and social service.

At this phase the Swamis may be described as the result of Ramakrishna multiplied by Vivekananda. This joint product is to be called the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda. What Ramakrishna had dreamt of in regard to the prospects of his message is not known to us. So far as Vivekananda's dreams are concerned, he would perhaps have felt to-day, had he lived up till now, that they have been realized to a great extent. Thanks to the activities of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, Vivekananda is to-day one of the great world-forces in the East and the West. Ramakrishna has also become almost a household divinity among the Hindus in Bengal and even parts of India within fifty years of his passing away. It is but meet to recall that Sakya the Buddha's influence did not assume these proportions in such a short period.

Not the least mentionable fact about the character, intelligence and organizing ability of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Order is the item that the first Birth-centenary of Ramakrishna (1936) has called forth the widest support and co-operation from the intellectuals, academicians and social workers in the most diverse regions of the world. For instance, Burma, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, China, Japan, England, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East and South Africa, South America, U.S.A. and Australia have cared to join in the Centenary celebration and contributed to its character as an international spiritual event of the year.

The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Order is, besides, equipped with a futuristic *Weltanschauung* (world-view), such as is eminently calculated to render it durable and capable of expansion. In connection with the Centenary, and indeed as its last item, the Order is organizing a Parliament of Religions to be held at Calcutta in March 1937. The Order has asked the participants to note that no direct or indirect reference to India or Indian religions and philosophical systems, ancient, medieval or modern, is obligatory. The Parliament is to address itself to every faith and every system of moral and spiritual tenets, old and new ; and participants are at liberty to expound their own views and ideals in a scientific and philosophical manner, without any spirit of intolerance. The Order attaches great importance to rendering the Parliament as universal in its contentual or topical make-up and as world-wide in race as possible. And this would be but a realization, as the Order understands it, of Ramakrishna's teachings to the effect *yata mat tata path* (Every faith is a path to God).

It is in this futuristic world-view of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda that we find embodied for the twentieth century the millennium-old tenets of *sanatana-dharma* (eternal or universal religion), as Hinduism is popularly known. The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Order is thereby carrying forward the *Aitareya-Brahmana* (VII, 15) cult of *charaiveti* (march on) or world-conquest among " fresh fields and pastures new " of humanity.

It is in keeping with the same futurism or progressism that the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture is being organised by the Order. This Institute will have for its object the carrying out and realisation of the teachings of Ramakrishna through the study and promotion of the creative achievements and spiritual experiences of the diverse races, castes, classes and communities of mankind on a scientific, comparative and cosmopolitan basis. On the one hand, the proposed Institute will seek to furnish platforms and centres of intellectual and moral co-operation as well as social solidarity on terms of equality and mutual respect between the representatives of the East and the West. And on the other hand, the philosophies, religions, moralities, arts and crafts, sciences, literatures, industries, economic developments, measures for the control of poverty, health and educational organizations, economic developments, etc., of the four quarters of the globe will form the theme of appreciative and rational discussion under the auspices of this Institute. Through these processes of broad, international and world-embracing approach to the problems and requirements of human life, the Institute will attempt to supply the cultural and spiritual foundations of a new personality among the men and women of the world, thereby equipping them as proper and adequate instruments for the establishment of world-peace, genuine internationalism and really humane culture on earth.

In the *milieu* of such achievements, ideas and projects we feel that Vivekananda was not the last word of *Ramakrishna Kathamrita* (The Nectar of Ramakrishna's Sayings). Vivekananda's colleagues and followers have succeeded in carrying both Ramakrishna and Vivekananda forward to their farthest logical consequences. They are already in sight of new domains and they are preparing the soil for fresh adventures in world-conquest, spirituality and human welfare. Ramakrishna-Vivekananda (1936) is not to be understood in terms of Ramakrishna (1836-86) and Vivekananda (1862-1902) alone.

Ramakrishna-Vivekananda does not merely copy, translate or paraphrase Ramakrishna or Vivekananda. It is not to be confounded wholesale with either the Prophet or the Leader. It is to be appraised as a new and distinct product of Creative India, inspired naturally as it is both by the Prophet and the Leader.

The Ramakrishna-Vivekananda amalgam is endowed with a virility and creativeness all its own. Like all its precursors from the days of Mohenjo Daro on, it is not content with the achievements of to-day and yesterday but is ever prayerful for to-morrow with a view to the acquisition of more *sat* (truth), more *jyoti* (light) and more *amrita* (immortality) for itself, for India and for mankind. The creativeness of creative India as well as the progress of the nations are then assured for the future, because, among other things, of the intellectual and social activities of the members of this "Indian Spiritual Service" (I.S.S.), as constituted by the five hundred Swamis and Brahmacharis of the Ramakrishna Mission. The futurism of this I.S.S. is one of the profoundest spiritual urges of the twentieth century.

Diversity of faiths and races is to be accepted as a first postulate in all large-sized social groups. But the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement calls upon the Hindus to be serious enough in the matter of practising the teachings of Ramkrishna by opening their souls to the principles of Islam and other faiths. The Hindus ought by all means to cultivate the study of Moslem ideals and institutions and to recognize that at bottom Islam is not less Hindu in spirit than Hinduism itself.

On account of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement's activities the world has not failed to catch the core of Ramakrishna's profoundly democratic teachings to the effect that "every faith is a path to God." The traditional millennium-old liberalism of Hindu religion has thereby obtained a tremendous impetus during the last generation. Throughout the length and breadth of India we are called upon by this Movement to translate the theoretical and psychological liberalism of the Hindu faith into action in the social institutions and practices of daily life. A totalitarian overhauling of the Hindu societal organization, first, in regard to the alleged inferior castes and races, and secondly, in regard to the Moslems, is in urgent demand in order to keep pace with the epoch-making intellectual, cultural and spiritual triumphs of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda as embodiment of the religion of progress. Societal futurism is the greatest need of the hour for those who have assimilated the principles of the remaking of religion from Ramakrishna to Ramakrishna-Vivekananda.

It is only while attempting this root and branch social revolution that the Hindus can have the moral right to-day to pray the soul-enfranchizing prayer of the *Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad* (I, iii. 28), namely,

asato ma sadgamaya,
tamaso ma jyotirgamaya.
mrityorma mritam gamaya.

(From unreality lead me to reality, from darkness lead me to light, from death lead me to immortality.)

SPACE AND TIME.

MANIKKUMAR BANERJEE.

INTRODUCTION.

EVER since the dawn of human spirit's first speculative urge towards expression, the part played by Space and Time has been considerable. No picture of world-view is complete without them. Explicitly or implicitly, the consideration of the problems of space and time is inherent in all systems of philosophy. Let us turn to the earliest philosopher of Europe, Thales. Thales, in attempting to find out the first cause of the universe, says it is "Water." But what is Water ? It is not any ordinary water, but it is *that* original source, that primordial stuff upon which floats the earth. Thus we find that water is the basal stuff ; it is matter, as a container of earth, it is space as the cause of the universe. Then again, it is said, that the world comes from it and goes back to it. So everything is explained in the temporal form. If it is pointed out, however, that if Thales speaks of Water, he speaks of Reality, and if of 'World,' he speaks of 'Appearance.' To this it will be answered that this is also based on the thought of space and time. But it should be borne in mind that Thales did not begin his philosophy with a conscious apprehension of these two conceptions. He only tackled them in a crude natural way. The development of these conceptions has a long history behind it. They have an unconscious beginning in a germinal state, progressively unfolding the latent implications "with the process of the suns": they passed along the arid regions of dialectical speculation (Zeno), pantheistic and mystic annihilation (Plotinus), and were taken adrift by theological reverence as divine creations (Mediæval), facing on the way bright and sombre welcome of materialism and idealism ; later they took a level road along scientific and psychological conceptions, until they reached the *terra firma* of the reality to be taken as realities.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

True philosophy arises when the unreflecting objectivity and uncritical fancy, characteristic of the *naivete* of childhood, is superseded by the spirit of reflection and criticism and as the glimmering dawn of human beings' vague mythical thinking brightens into the clear daylight of reason and intellect. The first problem which the speculative impulse essays to solve is that of the First Cause, which is anterior to every form of existence and of which all else are effects or manifestations. The picture of time-factor, easily and naturally, emerges into view in considering the above phase of the problem of the first cause. Then the question arose, What is that First Cause? Is it matter? It is not surely this or that substance; it must be 'boundless,' 'infinite,' 'indefinite' or some hypothetical homogeneous mass. This is the first conception of Matter, which is not different from a 'cosmic or vast space.' The task of subsequent philosophy has been to explain and interpret Reality and Appearance in terms of time and space. Indeed it may be said that new thoughts are but old thoughts "writ large," amplified, extended and enriched. So we find that it was not long after, that Change or Becoming became the Reality for Heraclitus. Soon it was opposed, however, by the Eleatic thinkers who propounded the theory that Reality is one, permanent and changeless. From this it will be clear that Reality is conceived either as becoming or change, or a changeless permanent entity. These two dominant ideas about Reality can be traced from the beginning to the end of philosophy. If it is urged that a conception about Reality and Appearance gives rise to Idealism or Materialism, we find here also that time and space play very important roles.

To the materialist these are objective realities; for all evolution or complexity is nothing but spatio-temporal in character. With them time is a process which is responsible for all change.

[illegible] & [illegible] But space, they think, is either filled or empty. So they developed these two ideas and every student of philosophy is aware what a fierce and heated controversy raged round this simple but all-important issue. Now coming to Idealism, we find that space and time are given a relative reality, but not an ultimate one and all development of these ideas is based on these two conceptions. If we consider the sombre and gloomy phase of Idealism, that is, Pantheism and Mysticism, we find that space and time have been looked upon through dark, stained glasses. Space and time are regarded as positive hindrances to our free and unobstructed vision of Reality, they are the sources of evil, they are the illusory phantasmagoria of dream. But so predominant is their influence and so pressing and imperious is their claim that these mystic thinkers cannot get rid of them.

Coming down again to those Christian apologists or Mediæval saints, who are engrossed in the contemplation of God the Father, even they cannot get rid of space and time ; they openly declare that they are but His creations. During the modern age, however, with the rising of the sun of science above man's mental horizon and flashing its rays athwart the entire region of human culture and knowledge, space and time loom very large. They become subjective or objective realities or *a priori* forms of our sensibility. Idealists,—ethical, objective or absolute,—regard them as facts of nature having a phenomenal or empirical reality but denying their ultimate or transcendental reality. To a realist like Herbart, though they have no ultimate reality, they have objective reality and though merely a manifestation of the Will, as Scopenhauer thinks, yet he could not give up those two ideas.

Thus in spite of all idealistic attempts to explain space and time away or to make them " vanish into thin air like the baseless fabric of a vision," there is no getting rid of these two ideas. Thus, according to James they are nothing but discoveries, or to B~~a~~erkley they are appearances, for they are riddled with contradictions and point to a higher reality. That they are discoveries or appearances or whatever appellation may verbal jugglery or ingenuity may devise for them, it comes to this that they have a sort of reality. But none took much care to develop these two conceptions until Bergson declared that reality is a ceaseless flow, a perpetual flux and a never-ending becoming, a constant *duree* ; it is life, it is time. It is the *elan vital* or the vital urge and is ever creative. The whole world of speculation and thought became luminous and the reality of time was declared at a flash. He advocated the principle of eternal movement, of which everything else is but derivative. Space or matter is nothing but the flow but it is our intellect that sees them stagnant. Our intuition will reveal to us that everything is in a perpetual flow. But yet the development of these two conceptions did not come to an end. We find realists like Russell, Whitehead and Alexander taking advantage of and fully exploiting the theory of relativity propounded by Einstein, advocating a new theory of space and time. To Russell and Whitehead they are nothing but relations between events which are spacio-temporal. But this position Alexander vehemently opposes by pointing out that the above mentioned philosophers commit a grave initial blunder by saying that space and time are relations. They cannot explain what they mean by relations as distinct from events; for what are "relations" in the strict interpretation of the principle of relativity. They are nothing but "events," *i.e.*, spacio-temporal complexity. Russell and Whitehead speak of "Space and Time," and not like the early thinkers of "Space and Time," for they are relative; but their only defect lies in calling them relations, and Alexander, as pointed out above, shows that relations are nothing but events and hence they are realities. The reality, however, is "Space-Time Matrix," for space passes into time and time into space. Alexander does not hold with Bergson that time is a flow, but says that no flow is possible unless one passes into the other. To quote his words, "Every point is an instant and every instant a point"; for the one passes into the other, the points and instants are integral and inseparable parts of "Space-Time," but they are continuous. So we come to the conclusion that "Space-Time" from a mere necessity of our thought becomes the reality itself and every emergent and existent follows from this space-time matrix. So the ancient prejudice that space is static, immobile and stationary, and time dynamic, flowing and moving is removed here; for space too, is movement on account of time and time a movement, on account of space. The reality is motion. Let us now proceed to examine these thoughts about space and time or space-time in detail.

ANCIENT PERIOD—GREEK CONCEPTION OF SPACE AND TIME.

From the foregoing introductory remarks on space and time it will be obvious that they have many considerable parts to play in the speculative region, and we also find that there is a gradual progressive development in the evolution of their ideas. We have already spoken of Thales as the first philosopher who, though in an implicit and indirect way, tackled the problems of space and time and also shown how his very reflection on and conception of reality necessarily involved the ideas of space and time. As philosophy was in its infant stage, the speculative impulse could not outgrow the crude and nebulous conception into well-defined crystalilsed shape. To Thales matter and force are not different or water-tight divisions; force is inherent in matter, the whole nature being alive; so force, life and matter are all combined in his conception of reality.

The next philosopher of note was Anaximander, who thought of reality as boundless but material, thus giving a very crude and unformed notion of space and as such, not very much superior to Thales' water. Thus, Anaximander brought about not much improvement in the notion of space. But inspite of this the fact that space to the common sense is boundless, is made patent here. And there is much abstract thought involved here. His conception of the origin of the world and evolution of living beings indicate his developed thought on time. Anaximander's " air," with an inherent force in it, reveals to us the conception of motion in a clearer form, and we know that time is closely related to motion.

The first advance in thought with regard to motion or change was conceived by Heraclitus. He thought of Becoming or change as reality. Change to him is a ceaseless continuity. Because everything is in a perpetual flux, there is this continuity. So we find here that continuity has a temporal character revealed very clearly. It is not simply an erratic flow or aimless eddying about but something which throws up new and ever-new substances or, in other words, brings about change, which is the ultimate reality. There is a cycle of creation. The conception of continuity, however, renders the thought of empty space impossible. " There is no empty space " became the slogan of the Eleatics, who declared that the Being of reality is " full." Without the consciousness of empty space how would they emphasize the fact of Being as full. So we find a confirmation of the Heraclitean conception that there is no empty space, as it would render the fact of continuity impossible, and create a fatal gap in the ceaseless flow. But in spite of this agreement between the Eleatics and Heracliteans, there is a fundamental difference in their conception of the true nature of reality. While Heracliteans looked upon reality as ceaseless becoming, the Eleatics looked upon it as changeless, immutable and permanent Being. To conceive of " empty space " is to limit and circumscribe Being, which, it is said, extends illimitably through space. So we find that Being here is explained with reference to space. Also, Being being changeless and permanent, is one undivided and indivisible entity. This renders the fact of change futile. But if the theory advocates a permanent and changeless being, it is but standing over against time and something superseding it. So *the conception of* time has been conceived as empirically real but not absolutely true, and that is why being is changeless. Zeno's protest against motion and multiplicity points indirectly that space and time have at least a phenomenal reality though not an ultimate one. It is Zeno's puzzle with regard to space-time that works a revolution in the history of philosophy and it became the chief all-absorbing problem for the later thinkers who tried to remove the puzzle. The solution of the puzzle took ages until Hegel, Bergson, Russell and others pointed out the inadequacy of Zeno's conception of space and time, and for the present let us leave the puzzle alone, as there are other theories of space and time demanding our preliminary consideration. The Eleatics may very aptly be called the precursors of idealism, as they tried to prove the phenomality of space and time and might say that the later philosophies are nothing but the evolutes from the problem of space-time. As a well-known thinker puts it, "Idealism is a dormant child in the womb of space and time."

THE TOTAL PACIFISTS

MADAME ELLEN HÖRUP

PEOPLE who would call themselves pacifists must have as their motto the phrase in the constitution of the international Labour Office: "Since the aim of the league of Nations is to introduce universal peace, and such peace can only be based upon social justice......this office has been established."

Social justice was not mentioned at the Brussels Congress. The four points of the Congress had nothing to do with justice; nor had the admired and beloved Lord Cecil. One cannot nowadays be both pacifist and conservative. One cannot vote for the armament of one's own country and at the same time hold Peace Congresses where one of the points is the reduction and limitation of armaments.

The Congress was to have been held at Geneva, but the fascist President Motta was afraid that words might fall which would grate on the ears of those neighbours who mean war when they say peace. Therefore he forbade it. The Belgian Government allowed it to be held, but forbade the use of such words.

And so at Lord Cecil's World Assembly for Peace no one spoke any of the words that should have been spoken. Only one thing was attained: unanimity about nothing. Nor could there have been agreement about anything else. For the peace Lord Cecil talks about is not peace. It is the conservative maintenance of the status quo, and that is war, competitive Warfare between the capitalist countries, class war between capital and labour, the *localised* war of the League of Nations in China, Ethiopia, Palestine and Spain, and torture and murder in the fascist countries, in the colonies, and in the mandatory countries.

Such is Lord Cecil's peace of the League of Nations, and the peace of those who support them. There were not a few of them in Brussels. There were generals, statesmen and politicians, famous for their achievements in 1914. There were people from the war industries and from *Le Temps*, the organ of the Comite des Forges. They could meet with perfect assurance, for the committee of the Congress had agreed among other things that no attack should be made on the League of Nations, on any statesman, on any country whatever, or on the armaments industry.

There were also many real pacifists at Brussels. They had come along in good faith, thinking that every assembly of people crying peace is propaganda for peace. What a mistake ! A Peace Congress at which neither the abolition of war nor the causes of war is mentioned only makes for confusion. As you have seen from the newspapers the Indian, South African, Jewish, East Indian, and Arabian delegates and the American League against War and Fascism protested.

Assemblies are all right, but assemblies composed of all kinds of people, from all camps, blur both the aim and the object. Such was the Congress in Brussels.

In Paris on the 18th and 19th of November it was the absolute, or integral, pacifists, who met in order to prepare for their Congress next May. These are the 100% pacifists, demanding complete disarmament, the abolition of the army—of all armies—the destruction of all munition factories, and disobedience to every mobilisation order. Their five points directly attack war. This is the true war against war. There is no room for compromises, there is no "making terms." With their five points they shift the chaff from the wheat, the out-and-out pacifists from the others, those who want peace but an armed peace, so that they can crush every movement for freedom on the part of the oppressed, who may be pacifists, but reserve to themselves the right to fight in defence of their fatherland and what they understand by their right.

The five points formulated by the *International Assembly against War and Militarism* may be taken as a scale. It begins right at the top with the infinitely distant aim : The abolition of war and all appertaining to war in laws and constitutions. A little lower down comes : Total and immediate disarmaments. That too seems to be extraordinarily remote. The abolition of conscription brings us at once nearer to earth. There is no conscription in England or in the colonies or in the United States. The last two points concern objection to military service. Every pacifist must have the right to object to serve, and those who are at present in prison must be released immediately.

With objection to military service we have arrived at the means which everyone has at his disposal—the weapon used by Gandhi, the only weapon which neither wounds nor kills—the weapon of non-co-operation or refusal. The conscientious objector need not overthrow the government, nor alter the law, nor introduce a new constitution. He does not become, like the others, a number, one of a crowd, a sheep herded he knows not where. He is the solitary individual, who had taken his standpoint in accordance with his own conscience.

He does not rush off when mobilisation orders arrive and the entire population have lost its senses. He made his decision while all was still calm around him, and he was quiet within. He remains standing while the others flock. He is strong because his mind is balanced. He knows what risks he is running: Contempt, punishment, imprisonment, and sometimes death, but he also knows that he is not exposing others than himself, and he does it of his own free will. He is the vanguard, he is not fighting for a fatherland but for all humanity.

The Total Pacifists do not march against any other country, they will not enter upon any war, to preserve either freedom or peace. So long as people can be conscripted and forced to go to war there is no freedom for them to defend. "It was war that turned free people into slaves," says Schopenhauer; and peace—yes, if they must go to war in order to preserve it, they themselves will break it.

The International Assembly against War and Militarism is the logical outcome of a whole series of other associations: The War Resisters' International. The International Anti-militarist Bureau, Ossitsky's No More War, the Joint Peace Council, where, in conjunction with the Quakers, with the Clerical Anti-militarist International, and the Women Guild, they have issued a manifesto, against conscription and the militarisation of youth, signed by Jane Addams, Selma Lagerlof, Fenner Brockway, Kagawa, the Gandhi of Japan, Tagore, and many others?

The meetings in Paris were presided over on the first day by Felicien Challaye, and on the second day by the Dutchman, De Ligt. There were representatives from the American Quakers, the English Christian Pacifists, from Spain, Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, etc. Challaye's paper, *Le Barrage,* was amalgamated with *La Patrie Humane,* which became the organ of the association. The motto of *Le Barrage* was the words of Bertrand Russell: "Not one of the evils which one attempts to eradicate by the help of war is so great an evil as war itself." The words of Anatole France: "You think you are dying for the fatherland, whereas it is for the industry," head *La Patrie Humaine.*

"There is no such thing as a righteous war," says De Ligt. "Even the most just cause cannot be defended with modern technical weapons without becoming unjust."

Regarding the colonial question the Total Pacifists are quite clear. The International Anti-Militarist Bureau in Holland has as its slogan: "The Dutch East Indies free from Holland." "If nothing can move us for national defence ought we to go to war in order to keep our colonies, which we took by force and which we retain with weapons ?"

We will not agree to another last war," says Challaye, "no matter if they call it a war of liberation, a revolutionary war, a war to eradicate Fascism, or to save the world revolution. We will no longer turn to those pacifists who, in order to secure their so-called peace, reckon with the collective application of murder, mutilation and destruction, who agree to prepare for the final war by the murderous methods we now see being employed in Spain. Never yet has the amassing of war materials prevented a war. War will not have such pacifists among us, not even those from the extreme left, none of them who agree once again to lay the terrible trap for the poor ignorant masses."

In a letter to De Ligt, Gandhi gives his name and support to the Total Pacifists, although they accept class war and recognise the social revolution.

"Pacifism is rubbish," say the very wiseacres who have turned the world into a madhouse. But when the experts themselves, such as the Englishman Air-General Groves, in the *Observer*, must admit "that armaments create more illusion than safety," then there is scarcely any way out than that which the pacifists have chosen: *To attempt to disarm the madmen by being wise themselves.*

FACTORS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY HISTORY OF INDIA.

KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., P.R.S.
Patna College.

THE eighteenth century forms a tragic period in the history of India. It witnessed the virtual collapse of the Imperial authority at Delhi which marred for the time being all hopes of a progressive and peaceful government and led to the destruction of a political and social order which had been in existence for two centuries and a half. Dreadful political turmoils, acute social anarchy and serious economic disorders make this century a "period of unparalleled confusion, an incoherent formless epoch." No century of Indian history records such intrigues, such crimes and such horrors as distracted the country during this period.

The central fact in the history of this period was the gradual dismemberment of the Mughal Empire as a result of the working of a number of forces which had their birth even before Emperor Auranzeb closed his eyes for ever in his camp at Ahmadnagar on the 3rd March, 1707, but which grew alarming under his weak successors. The influence of personalities in moulding the political destiny of a country should be duly recognised. An Akbar or an Auranzeb could rear up or maintain a majestic empire which began visibly to weaken and break up under the weak and effeminate rulers of the later Mughal dynasty. Excessive devotion to the pleasures of the harem impaired the energies of rulers like Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah and they could not develop intelligence, manly spirit or courage without which no ruler can ever pilot the ship of the state. They utterly neglected the administration of the Empire and the whole structure from top to bottom came to be honeycombed with abuses. Such an empire whose 'supreme head' was a 'fool and a sluggard' soon ceased to look after the interests of the country and it forfeited its claim to exist. The fall of the later Mughals had from this point of view a moral justification. We might express in the language used by Dr. Stubbs to justify the fall of the Lancastrians that the "dynasty that had failed to govern must cease to reign."

As a natural corrolary to this decline in the character of the monarchs followed the utter degeneration of the Mughal nobility during the 18th century. The Mughal nobility, a nobility of service dependent for its cereer or chances on the rulers, had rendered useful services to the state in the days of the Great Mughals. But feeble, indolent and tactless successors of the latter failed to utilise the nobility for the good of the state and allowed it to go down in prestige and character. There is much truth in the wise saying of the great Wazir Sadullah Khan:—" No age is wanting in able men ; it is the business of wise masters to find them out, win them over, and get work done by means of them, without listening to the calumnies of selfish men against them." [1]

The country suffered from the worst consequences which followed from the ignoble tactics and practices of this discontented and depraved nobility. Party factions fomented by the ambitious designs of the nobles are always prejudicial to the interests of a state, and in the absence of a strong central authority the Mughal state was torn up in the midst of general wars, treacherous conspiracies, assassinations and barbarities. One would simply shudder to hear how Farrukhsiyar was blinded, imprisoned and murdered towards the end of February, 1719, how Ahmad Shah was deposed and arrested on the 2nd June, 1754, how Alamgir II was murdered on the 29th of November, 1759, by the Wazir Imad-ul-mulk and how the 'deadly malignity' of Imad compelled Shah Alam I, to be a helpless wanderer from place to place during the most precious period of his life.

Besides the machinations of the nobles of the Hindusthani or Indo-Moslem party formed of some prominent Hindu politicians and the Muslims who were born in India or were long settled in the country, there were the bitter rivalries of foreign nobles like the Turanis, that is those who came from Transoxiana and other parts of Asia and were mostly Sunnis, and Iranis, that is those who came from the Persian territories and were Shias, which distracted the country. Civil dissensions spread throughout the land and the administration suffered from terrible abuses. " There was no far-sighted leader, no clearly thought-out and steadily-pursued scheme of national development as under Akbar. No political genius arose to teach the country a new philosophy of life, or to kindle aspirations after a new heaven on earth." [2] The French adventurer Jean Law exclaimed in disappointment before the historian Ghulam Husain in April 1759:—I have travelled everywhere from Bengal to Delhi, but nowhere have I found anything from any one except oppression of the poor and plundering of wayfarers. Whenever I wanted that one of these famous potentates, like Shuja, Imad and their peers, out of a regard for honour and desire for the regulation of the Government, should undertake to put in order the affairs of Bengal and suppress the English, not one of them felt any inclination to the task. They did not once weigh in their minds the praiseworthiness or shame of their conduct... The Indian nobles are a set of disorderly inconsistent blockheads, who exist solely for ruining a world of people." [1] Shah Alam also wrote in 1768:—"Through the perfidiousness of the nobility and vassals this anarchy has arisen, and every one proclaims himself a sovereign in his own place, and they are at variance with one another the strong prevailing over the weak......... In this age of delusion and deceit, His Majesty places no dependence on the services or professions of loyalty of any one but the English chiefs." [2]

---

[1] Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. II, p 311.
Ibid, p. 314.

Thus when the rulers of the noble did not know how to look after the real interests of the state others were bound to come in. Just as an individual without strength of body or tenacity of character easily falls prostrate before a hostile force so a society or a state without lofty ideals or inspiring examples gradually loses its vitality and falls an easy prey to alien influences or aggressive attacks from outside. The history of Poland in the 18th century illustrates how a weak state with a vitiated body-politic cannot maintain its independent existence for a long time. In India also during that century the internal exhaustion of the empire of the successors of Akbar, Shajahan and Auranzeb and the weak defence of Afghanistan and the Punjab invited external invasions which kept the whole of Northern India pulsating for about thirty years. Ghulam Husain has well described how there was only a mockery, a caricature of administration when he writes: "Hence the guards being ill-paid, abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited the invaders, and the report of the Ministers' indifference and the weakness of the Government being rumoured everywhere, every one without fear of control thought only of his personal interests without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected, every one passed and repassed, unobserved ; no intelligence was forwarded to Court (of Delhi) of what was happening ; and neither Emperor nor the nobles ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears."

---

[1] Quoted in Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 528, from Siyarulmutakherin, Vol. II, p. 257.

[2] Quoted in *Ibid*, from Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 1101, 1836.

The first death-blow fell upon the tottering Mughal Empire from Persia which had once helped the adventurer Babar in laying its foundation in India and had extended a refuge to the fugitive Humayaun. The invasion of Nadir Shah of Persia lasting from the 10th of May when the Persian invader began his march into Northern Afghanistan till the 5th of May 1739 when the Persian conqueror left Delhi on his homeward march, is a terrible episode in the history of India. The imperial city of Delhi was subjected to a brutal massacre and the villages lying within 30 or 40 miles of the city were marauded and plundered and some important towns were sacked. It has been stated by some reliable authorities that "many respectable Indian householders slew their own wives and daughters to save them from dishonour by the Qizilbash soldiery and then rushed on the enemy's swords or cut their own throats. Many women drowned themselves in the wells of their houses to escape a shame worse than death.[1]" The invader exacted a heavy indemnity amounting to 15 crores of rupees in cash besides jewellery, clothing and furniture worth 50 crores more. The crown jewels including the famous diamond Kohinoor and the Peacock throne were carried by the victors. The famous illustrated Persian manuscript on the Hindu music written by the command of Emperor Muhammad Shah and lately recovered by Maharaj Tagore in London formed part of his plunder. Thus this invasion dealt a deadly blow on the prestige of the Delhi Empire and drained a vast wealth out of India.

It created also a precedent for the Abdali invasions of India. After the treacherous assassination of Nadir Shah on the 9th of June, 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had been in the service of Nadir Shah since 1737 A.D., seized the throne of Persia and styled himself Durani Padishah. From the close of the year 1747 till 1767 or probably till 1767 (some English records refer to an invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Punjab in 1769 A.D.[3]) led several expeditions into India. These expeditions were something more than mere predatory raids. These indicated the rival of the Afghan power outside and within India, making a fresh bid for supremacy on the reins of the Mughal Empire. The earlier Afghan settlers in the lower Gangetic regions, who may be classed as Indo-Afghans, had been replenished in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century by a fresh wave of Afghan immigration into Northern India which was a part of larger Central and West Asiatic penetration of it in those times. Afghan adventurers sought military employments everywhere either as retainers or as marcenaries and some of them had begun to found principalities and build up spheres of influence of their own as in Rohilkhand. This peaceful Afghan penetration prepared the way for, and conversely was assisted and furthered by, Afghan invasions from the North-West, just as in the immediately previous period prolonged Persian influence and penetration culminated in the Persian invasion of 1738-39 A.D. In fact, North India being then full of ambitious Afghans was in constant apprehension of an Afghan bid for political power all over India, of Afghan invasions almost every year that might result in the foundation of an Afghan Empire. The Ruhelas under Ali Muhammad Ruhela openly defied the authority of Muhammad Shah. One should note that the year 1748 which saw Ali Muhammad Ruhela at the height of his power was the year when Ahmad Shah Abdali appeared for the first time in India and when the Bihar Afghans rebelled against the government of Alivardi and made themselves masters of Patna for three months, 13th January to 16th April, 1748. It is also significant that Ahmad Shah Abdali was joined by the Muslim chiefs of Northern India like the oppressed Ruhelas and the Nawab of Oudh.

---

[1] Irvine, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 369.
[2] Bengal : Past and Present, 1932, p. 185.
[3] Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1934.

This Afghan bid for supremacy was a potent factor in the history of India during the considerable part of the 18th century. It accelerated the dismemberment of the Mughal Empire, seriously opposed the ambitions of the North-pushing Maratha power in the field of Panipath in January, 1761 and left the East India Company in Bengal in constant anxiety for several years. The results of Panipath of course gave a respite to the rising British power in India to strengthen its hold over Bengal but these might have proved otherwise if Ahmad Shah Abdali had not been stopped from pushing further east by troubles at home. The Bihar and Bengal Afghans could ally themselves with one of their race and could compete with the Company for supremacy in Bengal where in the 16th century Sher Shah had established a glorious Afghan rule and where so recently as 1848 they had defied the authority of Alivardi. As a matter of fact from 1757, or more definitely after the battle of Buxar when the defence of Oudh, *i.e.*, that the north-west frontier of Bihar became a matter of vital necessity for the English in Bengal, till the close of the eighteenth century the dread of Durrani menace constantly haunted the imaginations of the British statesman in India. There are copious references in the British newspapers, the Proceedings of the Select Committee in Bengal and the correspondence of the Company's Governor with the rulers of the country how the Company's Government was always apprehensive of an Abdali dash upon Oudh and then upon Bengal. As early as 1757 that Council in Calcutta exclaimed:—" ....by the favour and goodness of God, Abdali is returning by continual marches to his own countries." [1]

There was an ebb tide in the fortunes of the Durranis after the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in June, 1773. His son and successor, Timur Shah, was a weak and indolent ruler and he had no design to invade India. After his death his fifth son Zaman Shah ascended the throne in Ma y, 1793. Having effected his security from the hands of the enemies at home he meditated an invasion of interior Hindusthan. The fear of his invasion " kept the British Indian Empire in a chronic state of unrest " [2] in the days of Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley. Dundas being confirmed " in the belief of his (Zaman Shah's) hostile designs," wrote to Wellesley that he " ought to keep a very watchful eye upon the motions of that Prince whose talents, military force, and pecuniary resources afford to him the means of being a formidable opponent." [3] Lord Wellesley claims to have removed this Durrani menace by sending two missions to Persia first of Mehdi Ali Khan and then of Captain Malcolm. He wrote to the Secret Committee in London on 28th September, 1801:—" The active measures adopted by the Court of Persia against Zemaun (Zeman Shah) which were subsequently encouraged by Captain Malcolm, produced the salutary effect of diverting the attention of Zemaun Shah from his long projected invasion of Hindusthan during three successive seasons.........The assistance afforded by Mehdi Ali Khan under my orders, to the Prince Muhammad Shah, originally enabled that Prince to excite these commotions, which have recently terminated in the defeat of Zemaun Shah, in his deposition from the throne and in the active extinction of his power ; to the consolidated and active Government of Zemaun Shah has succeeded a state of confusion in the country of the Afghans highly favourable to our security in that quarter."

---

[1] Proceedings of the Select Committee, 21st February/26th December, 1757.
[2] Kaya, History of the War in Afghanistan.
[3] Dwen, Wellesley Despatches, p. 638.

Another important factor in the history of this period was the rise of adventures into exalted positions of the Governors of provinces which became independent of the Delhi Empire. Is is interesting to note here these adventures came to prominence. In the century and a half before Akbar and Indian Muslim people had grown up on the foundation of immigrations, settlements, conquests and convensions of the preceding few centuries. With the Mughals a fresh extra-Indian Turki element entered the land but very prudently identified its interests with those of the Rajput people and sought to exclude other external adventures and where that was not possible to assimilate them as part of the Mughal-Rajput polity. But with the gradual change in Mughal policy from 1611 in the time of Jahangir the Rajput element in the Mughal state was replaced by Iranian and Central or West Asiatic immigrant fortune-seekers, under state patronage. As at the same time the central authority was becoming more and more ineffective for virtuous reasons, this new element could not be fully controlled and utilised for imperial or national purposes and the growing independence and ambition of Muslim adventures of foreign extraction sapped the foundation of the Mughal Empire. Murshid Kuli Khan ruled the province of Bengal without a break from 1707 till his death in 1727 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja Khan. Asafzah Nizam-ul-mulk was first appointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1713, then dismissed and finally reinstated in 1725 governed the province till his death on the 21st of May, 1748, and bequeathed it to his progeny. In Oudh Sadat Khan was appointed Governor in 1723 and after his death his son-in-law Safdar Jang succeeded him. In the Punjab Shaifuddaullah got the viceroyalty in 1713 and was succeeded in 1726 by his son Zakaria Khan (entitled Sheifuddaulah II) ; and on the latter's death in 1745 Lahore and Multan passed on to his sons Yahiya Khan and Hayatullah Khan.

This period was also profoundly influenced by the aggressive imperialism of the Marathas who had revived under the Peshawas. This Maratha imperialism was, as it were, wreaking a vengeance on the moribund Mughal Empire and was making a gigantic bid for a

Hindu Padshahi or Hindu Swaraj over India, the different parts of which like the Deccan, Gujrat, Malaya, Rajputana, Central India, Bengal, Delhi and the Punjab, quickly fell under their influence. The policy of founding a Maratha Empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire initiated by the first Peshwa Balaji Biswanath received an impetus from the journey of the Marathas to Delhi in 1729 when they saw with their own eyes the utterly rotten state of the Delhi Empire. This aggressive policy was definitely formulated by the bold and imaginative Peshwa Baji Rao I when he suggested to his master Sahu in 1722: "Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mughal Empire); the branches will fall of themselves. Thus should the Maratha flag fly from the Krishna to the Indus." By 1731 Baji Rao crushed the ambition of his domestic foes till Shambhaji of Kolahar and the Senapati Dabhade within a few years conquered Malwa, Gujrat and Bundelkhand. The dosh of his cavalry on the imperial capital Delhi in 1737 publicly exposed the decadence of the Empire, and in 1738 by the treaty of Durrani Sarai the Nizam-ul-mulk, the most inveterate foe of the Marathas, resigned to them the whole of the country between the Narmada and the Chambal. By 1758 Raghunath Rao gave effect to the famous prophecy of Baji Rao by planting the Maratha banner on the walls of Attock. But this north-western push of the Marathas brought them into collusion with the Afghans who were also, as I have already pointed out, competing for supremacy over Hindusthan. A conflict between the two became inevitable ; it was fought in the historic field of Panipath on 16th January, 1761, where the fate of India had been decided age after age. The results of this battle were diastrous for the Marathas. It checked their ambition of a north-western expansion, caused them enormous loss of men and money and dealt a severe blow to their prestige. The Peshwa died of broken heart on 23rd June, 1761.

But Panipath was not the Waterloo of Maratha ambition. Due to the untiring energy and ceaseless efforts of the young Peshwa Madho Rao the Marathas quickly recovered from the blows of the Panipath disaster and in 1772 they restored the exiled Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to the throne of his forefathers. Within a few years Madhoji Sindhia appeared as a dictator over the politics of Hindusthan so that the Delhi Emperor came absolutely under his control in 1789. In the words of Sir John Malcolm, the Sindhia remained "as the nominal slave but the rigid master of the unfortunate Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi."[1] This control over the titular Emperor was a significant fact; it gave one who could establish it a formal support for his claims. Thus both the English and the Marathas, the two active competitors for political supremacy over Hindusthan during the last quarter of the 18th century tried to utilise the fiction of imperial sovereignty for their own ends. The Marathas could not retain it long but the English could establish it successfully in 1803. From this time forward the Marathas lagged behind in the race for political supremacy till their ambitions were crushed for ever by 1818 A.D. The tragic collapse of the Marathas in 1818 was an almost inevitable corollary of their disasters in 1802-03.

This was bound to come. A house divided against itself cannot stand long: it dissolves quickly like a house of cards. Thus the so-called Maratha confideracy torn asunder by the selfishness and dissensions of its members could not stand before united British force in India. Further, this Maratha imperialism, if it would be so called at all, lacked all those elements which can give strength and permanence to a polity. Having no unity of plans or organisation or a sound economic policy the Maratha state grew hollow like a worm-eaten trunk and fell violently after repeated shocks from 1761 to 1818. Excessive vandalism of the Marathas was another cause of their ruin. Lastly, they were foolish enough to depend on the foreigners for artillery instead of developing a scientific military establishment of their own. They lost their own method of warfare, could not make the new method of the West their own and thus failed to stand before the artillery and the intrepid bravery of the British soldier.

Active participation of the European trading companies like the English, the Dutch and the French in the politics of India with the desire of establishing political supremacy form also a prominent factor in the eighteenth century history of India. The Dutch ambition to rival the political supremacy of the English was crushed by their defeat at the battle of Bedarra on the 24th of November, 1759. But the Anglo-French conflicts in India have a long story covering more than half the century. Inspite of the sad fates of Dupleix and Lally and their defeat at the battle of Wandewash fought on the 22nd of January, 1760, the French pursued their ambitions *in India*.[2] Thus even after 1760 A.D., there remained a dreadful French menace for the rising British power in India and the British statesmen in India as well as in England anxiously watched the movement of the French. To further their designs the French in India then tried to form alliances with Indian powers like the Marathas and the Mysore Sultans, who were bitter foes of the English. In 1777 St. Lubin was negotiating fo a treaty with Nana Fadnavis for stirring up the Marathas against the English "not in a vague and uncertain manner but with a view to obliging them (English) to divide their forces."[1] The French further considered an alliance with the Mysore Sultanate necessary "for regaining the ascendancey of it.[2] The revolt of the American colonies of England gave the French the desired opportunity to strike another blow. They now supported the revolted American colonies and at the time made a desperate attempt to regain their power in India, while the English forces and energies remained divided. The French Government sent Bussy with 3,000 men and a powerful fleet under Admiral Suffrein to help Hyder Ali. But these achieved nothing for French interests. Pondichery was again captured by the English, though it was restored by the peace of Versailles in 1783. Even after this the French tried to stir up, the Indian powers like the Marathas, the Nizam and Tipoo against the rising British power in India. Lord Cornwallis wrote to C. W. Mallet at Poona on 10th March, 1798 :—" I look upon a rupture with Tipoo as a certain and immediate consequence of a war with France." On the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in Europe the English proceeded to deprive the French of their possessions in India. Lord Cornwallis "issued orders, which were effected without resistance for taking Chandernagore and the several French Factories in this century and seizing the vessels that have carried the French flag."[3] He wrote to the Court of Directors on 15th September, 1793 :—" I have great satisfaction in congratulating your Honourable Court on the reduction of the fortrees of Pondichery and of all other French Settlements and Factories on the continent of India." Some unpublished records so long preserved in the office of the District Judge of Patna and now sorted by me and stored in the Library of the B. and O. Research Society describe how the French Factory at Patna was seized. But the French menace found opportunity to grow alarming during the administration of Sir John Shore and it was Wellesley who removed it by curbing the power of the Indian allies of the French and by sending an expedition to the Red Sea which destroyed French hopes of establishing themselves on the overland route to India.

---

[1] Memoir of Central India, Vol. I, p. 122.

[2] Bengal: Past and Present, July-Sept., 1931, p. 25.

---

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid, vide* also a letter from Earl of Cornwallis to the Secret Committee, dated, Fort William, 12th April, 1790. in Forrest, Selections from the State Papers of the Govenor-General of India, Vol. II; Lord Cornwallis, p. 14.

[3] Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, August 1st, 1793. Ross, Cornwallis Correspondence, Vol. II, pp 224-26,

These conflicts of the Europeans in India during the 18th century were largely influenced by their wars in other parts of the world. The echoes of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48), the Seven Years' War (1756-63), the Wars of the American Independence and the Napoleonic Wars reached the distance shores of India. She was thus drawn into the currents and cross-currents of world-politics and her political destiny became linked up with changes and revolutions beyond the Oceans. But for what Chatham, Wolfe, Pitt, Nelson and Wellington achieved in America and Europe, Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley or Lord Hastings could not have gradually built the edifice of British dominion in India. It may be very well asserted that Clive, Hastings, Chatham, Pitt and Wellington were all active participators in world-wide conflicts which resulted in the establishment of British authority in their respective spheres of work.

These were then the principal factors in the history of India during the 18th century,—a dark and dreadful period in the annals of our country. But the darker chapters of human history are sometimes full of such precepts and examples as serve to stimulate the imagination, ennoble the thoughts and mould the characters of the succeeding generations. Thus, for a reflective student of history living to-day, this century (18th century) of struggles, horrors, crime and tragedies is full of weighty lessons which would inspire him in the present and would help him to advance with cautious steps in the future. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has very wisely remarked :—" And yet our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor is it wanting in the deepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together and must be studied with accuracy of detail as to facts and penetrating analysis as to the causes if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past."[1]

Then again it was during the closing years of this century that seeds were sown of certain forces which when fully grown created a new India. The structure of the Indo-British Administrative system, which ultimately made India an orderly political unit working out an elaborate programme of constructive reforms, was steadily erected during this period by men like Hastings, Cornwallis, Shore, Wellesley, Munro and others. Further, the establishment of the Asiatic Society (now, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1784 was a landmark in the history of India as it marked the birth of a cultural renaissance which created in Indian minds a spirit of enquiry into the past history and antiquities of this country. This cultural renaissance assisted by the work of European scholars, like Sir William Jones, Henry Thomas Colebrooke and others-revealed the majesty and purity of old India and indirectly helped the cause of the modern Indian reformation. Lastly, we should not forget to note that the year 1772 saw the birth of Raja Rammohan Roy (Mr. Brojendra Nath Banerjee thinks that he was born in 1774) who was destined to be the saviour of Indian religion and civilisation from the deadening influence of superstitions and spiritual blindness on the one hand and the intrusions of Christianity and erotic influences on the other at a time "when our country having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being struggled under a crushing load of unreason in abject slavery to circumstance."

---

[1] Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vols. I, III, IV.

THE EUGENIC BACKGROUND IN INDIA

CEDRIC DOVER

THE application of discriminating intelligence to problems of social evolution in India has, for many years, been obscured by the opposing forces of a new national sentiment and the 'heavy paternalism of British rule.' It is not surprising, therefore, that the country remains practically unaffected by those opportunities for social development and individual well-being which certain aspects of the eugenic movement have added to life in the West. Yet there is a eugenic background in India, and a quickening sense of the importance of the scientific approach to societal problems. In fact, there is a eugenic tradition so considerable that part of the overwhelming flow of historical scholarship from Indian universities could very profitably be deflected towards its critical study. This essay, accordingly, does not attempt more than an indication of the interest and practical value of the historical aspects of eugenics in a country where the shaping of ideals that are 'new' must always be associated with appreciation of those that are old.

The development and decline of Hindu eugenics, as of Indian culture in general, is essentially associated with belief in the divine origin of all knowledge. The Hindu *Shastras* (treatises) trace their origin to Prajapati, the "Lord of Beings," who produced an encyclopaedia of knowledge in a hundred thousand chapters for the edification and discipline of his progeny. This work was written at the request of the gods, and dealt with religion and duty (*Dharma*); politics, economics and other material matters (*Artha*); and love or desire (*Kama*). Thus, we have the Dharmashastras, Arthashastras, and Kamashastras. Another fundamental factor influencing human welfare in India for better and worse resulted from the early development of an intense patriarchal system, under which social progress is affected by the attitude that a man's ego is continued by his legitimate sons, and the consequential fear of falsification of descent.

With such an outlook, early attention to the ways and means of racial culture, dominated by a greater preoccupation with Dharma, is to be expected. It is attended, however, by the absence of adaptability, the desire to lay down systems of rigid stability, the intense growth of conservatism, and an uncritical respect for tradition, inevitably associated with any effort to relate the speculations of the spirit to the needs of the flesh. Moreover, in such circumstances, tradition and duty frequently tend to become a cloak for the aggrandisement of the few.

In the resulting environment racial culture rapidly reaches a level where improvement is felt to be unnecessary ; for, when gods have dictated to wise men the means whereby they can secure the desires of the few, serious consideration of the disabilities of the many merely distracts from the accumulation of grace and wealth. It is in the elaboration of such an argument that we find the explanation for India's ancient culture, and its decay during the last two thousand years. While it may be a temporary asset in political emancipation, the present spirit of revivalism can only be regarded, therefore, as essentially atavistic, at any rate in so far as scientific progress is concerned.

These generalisations are strongly supported by the caste system and the position of women. The caste system (Risley, 1915 ; Ghurye, 1932) has been regarded (Chakraberty, 1924 ; Roy, 1927) as a eugenic measure, its most obvious defect being that it aimed primarily at breeding a small caste (Brahmins) of intellectual supermen, whose degeneration is the unavoidable result of excessive egotism and class prejudice. Originally the caste system protected racial identity, encouraged learning, and provided a division of labour that was probably ideal in a developing state. It was not inelastic, and allowed the admission of men of merit to castes higher than those to which they belonged. It emphasized the union of similars (Roy, 1927 ; Mukerjee, 1929), it being felt that marriages between men and women whose natures harmonised would lead to happiness, besides resulting in offspring of intellectual accomplishments, or sons that were 'virtuous, handsome and heroic.'

Its inherent defects were anticipated and provision made for controlling them. It afforded, for example, a natural tendency towards inbreeding, which the ancient Hindus recognised as largely inimical to racial development. This recognition, however, does not appear to have been based on scientific grounds, as some writers suggest (*e.g.*, Roy, 1927). The ancient Hindus therefore prohibited marriage, within certain generations, between persons (*sapindas*) related to each other on the father's and mother's sides and also between members of the same *gotra* or sept. Unfortunately, an elaborate system of sapinda and sept exogamy, accompanied by punishments for transgressors, has arisen from these originally simple prohibitions. This is rightly regarded (Karandikar, 1929) as factor opposed to social progress.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to regard the caste system as an economic and eugenic measure of considerable utility at one time. With all its anticipations, however, it did not provide for the innate defects of human nature. By the time of Manu, like so many Law-givers one of the most dysgenic forces in history, elasticity had been superseded by rigid social distinctions. Cruel punishments awaited the ambitious among the lower castes (Das Gupta, 1930), who were denied spiritual rights, banished if they attempted to live by higher occupations, tortured and killed if found guilty of intercourse with women of superior station. Even for mentioning a Brahmin's name, an untouchable faced the penalty of having his tongue cut out or burnt with a red-hot iron. A more liberal outlook is, of course, now in evidence, but more than sixty million untouchables still remain practically isolated from contacts outside their caste. A *radical* approach to this problem would accordingly form one of the most important contributions to the welfare of our people.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the rise and fall of the Hindu State is associated with the enormous potentialities for good and evil of the caste system. The decay of the Hindu State followed the degeneracy of the caste system. "It fell a victim (says Prasad, 1929) to caste and deliberately refused to bring the lower castes into line with the rest of Hindu society or to encourage their higher life. It allied itself with priest-craft and conservatism and helped perpetuate the distinctions between man and man. Lastly, the State, parochial, shortsighted and isolated from the rest of the world, failed to keep abreast of the times and to organise the resources of the country against successive foreign invasions." According to Das (1930), who voices the opinion of serious students, the caste system "is now one of the most outstanding causes of social stagnation and industrial inertia. It has created false pride and vainglory among the few and has led to the degradation and demoralisation of the many."

Regarding the position of women in India, it would appear that they enjoyed the privileges of freedom, mate-selection, and equal rights with men in Vedic times (Lajpat Rai, 1928 ; Basu, 1925). It is not surprising, therefore, that the heroines of ancient India are noted for their beauty, courage and intellectual accomplishments, some being known to have taken part in protracted philosophical discussions. Such abuses as childmarriage were practically unknown even up to Epic times (Mukerjee, 1929; *et al*). "No man," said Sushruta (Bhishagratna, 1907-1918), "shall marry a girl at a very early age. If any man below the age of twenty-five marries a woman below the age of sixteen, the embryo is likely to abort. If it does not abort, the child will not live long. Even if it lives it will be a weakling. An elderly woman or a woman with chronic ailments or deformities shall not be impregnated. An elderly man similarly situated shall not marry."

In the Epic period (*c.* 600 B.C.—200 A.D.) however, women were rapidly degraded to the position of property (Meyer, 1930) and, by the time of the law-givers, their position was entirely determined by an intensely patriarchal view of marriage as an institution for the procreation of sons, without whom "no door to heaven is known or is named." This outlook gave rise to all those familiar abuses, sanctioned and elaborated by Manu (Buhler, 1886) and his successors, that have helped to reduce India to its present position among the nations of the world. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it was infinitely superior to the Pauline view of marriage as an alternative to fornication. It stimulated the aesthetic sense, encouraged an enormous literature (both practical and poetic) on love, and was responsible for much knowledge that would still be regarded with real or affected horror by a large majority of the Christian world. For example, the necessity for pre-marital examinations of physical and mental fitness, still no more than a topic of academic interest in the West, was recognised by the Hindus from the earliest times.

A highly developed and critical appreciation of physical beauty (Meyer, 1930 ; Kanno Mal, 1931) provided an instinctive stimulus to racial improvement, which was supplemented by the most detailed discussions of the qualifications and disqualifications for marriage. Attention was naturally centred on the eligibility of the woman, but the competency of the man was not neglected. Thus Narada (Jolly, 1889), and certain other authorities, required that "the man must undergo an examination with regard to his virility ; when the fact of his virility has been established beyond doubt he shall obtain the maiden but not otherwise." The characteristics of a virile man, and fourteen kinds of temporary and permanent impotency, are also discussed by him.

Very radical in his views on sexual relationships, Narada further advocated divorce and remarriage, on the grounds of sterility, disease and sexual incompetency. A woman had to wait some time for an absent husband, but for the "wife of one who spills his semen, or whose semen is devoid of strength, though they may have discharged their marital duties, another husband must be procured, after she has waited for half a year." Moreover, "if a man lies with the willing wife of a man that has left his chaste wife, or is impotent or consumptive, then that does not constitute adultery." Under certain conditions, and with a hypocritical display of purity, begetting by proxy was also permitted, even by the strictest authorities.

Since the production of the all-important sons was dependent on desire, Kama is recognised in Hindu philosophy as one of the three great objects of life, indicating a capacity for health feeling and earnest living that generally meets with condemnation in Christian thought. Indeed, Kama is frequently regarded, with penetrating logic, as the greatest object of all, though in the ascetic school *Moksha* (salvation) receives pride of place. Thus, a character (Bhima) in the *Mahabharata* believes that "without Kama a man has no wish for worldly profit, without Kama a man does not strive after the Good, without Kama a man does not love ; therefore Kama stands above all the others .... No being ever was, or is, or will be higher than the being that is filled with Kama."

India accordingly possesses an elaborate erotic literature that is delicate and truly poetic in its treatment of love (De, 1929), and exhaustive in its discussion of sexual relationships. Its scope extends from minute descriptions of methods of co-habitation, and types of men and women in relation to compatibility, to the definition of sixty-four arts (*Kalas*) that help to increase and retain sexual attractiveness and harmony. In fact the *Kama Sutra,* or Aphorisms on Love, of Vatsyayana (Gambers, 1930 ; Schmidt, 1920 ; Villeneuve, 1921) has been utilised by Chakladar (1929) as a basis for an extensive study of social life in ancient India. The *Kama Sutra* is the oldest (*c.* 300 A. D.) complete treatise on the subject extant in India, and is believed to be an epitome of an enormous mass of earlier knowledge. Other erotic works are similar, such as the *Rati Rahasya,* or Secrets of Sexual

Pleasure, of Kokkok, and the comparatively recent (1600 A.D.) *Ananga Ranga*, or Stage of Love, of Kalyanamalla (Gambers and Rama, 1931) ; and uncritical paraphrases of the *Kama Sutra* still form the major portion of the indigenous sex literature with which charlatans, posing as sexologists, flood the market. A critical and concise study of Indian erotic literature remains, however, to be published, at any rate in the English language.[1]

Associated with the erotic literature is a considerable volume of information on aphrodisiacs and abortifacients, which is the source of a host of "infallible preparations" that are advertised with almost lyrical abandon in most Indian journals. Methods of prevenception are also described, both in the sacred and erotic works, from the earliest times. Thus, there are incantations to induce sterility in the *Atharva Veda* and in the *Upanishads*, and one of the divisions (Vazroli) of the *Hatha-Yoga-Pradipika* also discusses, though not as a contraceptive measure, the methods by which the seminal discharge may be drawn back by the male. Several postures unfavourable to conception are also described. Herbal concoctions for the prevention of birth supplement these methods; Marie Stopes quotes several from the *Ananga Ranga* in her book on contraception. It will be seen, therefore, that the Hindu religion is not uncompromisingly opposed to birth-control as is popularly supposed, though it is severe on abortion, the law-givers prescribing punishments extending to death for causing miscarriage.

The remarkable biological literature (Seal, 1915) of ancient India supplements, and is influenced by, treatises on erotics and polity. The Ayurvedic system of medicine (Bhishagratna, 1907-1918 ; Kaviratna, 1908 ; Johnston-Saint, 1929 ; Mukerjee, 1923-1930), for example, paid special attention to hygiene, physical culture and dietetics (Lakshmi Patti, 1929), while its most advanced sections dealt with gynaecology (Das, 1927; Mukerjee, 1929). Thus, from the *Sushruta Samhita*, made available by Nagarjuna (*c.* 400 B. C.), it is evident that Caesarean section and craniotomy were known some three thousand years ago, while a variety of instruments and accessories, including vaginal douches, were also in use (Mukerjee, 1913-14). Like every other achievement of the early Hindus, their biological sciences failed, however, to develop, and now bears no comparison with the so-called Western science to which it undeniably contributed.

---

[1] I have not been able to consult R. Schmidt's *Liebe und Ehe in Indien* and *Indisches Erotik*.

The germs of progress were inhibited by belief in the divine origin of medicine as of all knowledge. We find, therefore, considerable evidence of diagnostic and surgical skill, supported by therapeutic knowledge that was extensive on the one hand and enmeshed in superstition on the other. The pharmacopeia was contaminated by a primitive attention to excrement, mystic attributes being credited to the dung and urine of various species of animals, and included formulae that required the use of shed snake-skins or camel hair, with appropriate incantations. It must be admitted, however, that it revealed a detailed knowledge of the curative properties of indigenous herbs, which continues to be investigated with advantage by modern workers.

Evidently the indigenous systems of medicine are worthy of critical appreciation. But they are unfortunately degenerating into an aspect of passionate nationalism that is encouraging, with the help of large grants from the legislatures, the so-called development of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine in the belief that it will meet " our peculiar national needs." The Unani system is the Graeco-Arabic system of Razi and Avicenna, and may be regarded as representing an advance (it is, for example, more free from superstition) on the Ayurvedic system from which it borrowed. And of Arabian medicine Browne (1921) writes: " From the narrowest utilitarian point of view it is not likely that even the profoundest study of the subject will yield any practical results of importance, seeing that the whole system is based on a rudimentary Anatomy, an obsolete Physiology, and a fantastic Pathology. From the Arabian Materia Medica, and from the rules of Diet and Hygiene, some hints might possibly be gleaned, but with this exception we must, I fear, admit that little practical advantage can be hoped for."

These comments are applicable with equal truth to the Unani system to-day, and with greater emphasis to Ayurvedic medicine. Some Western doctors (*e.g.*, Hehir, 1923) are sympathetic towards Ayurvedic and Unani practitioners on the basis that any medicine is better than no medicine at all, but such compromise does not seem to provide the solution to India's medical requirements. Eastern medicine has grown into a more advanced system, associated with progress in many allied sciences, which is available to India, and any attempt to develop it *in puris naturalibus* seems absurd and uneconomical. But we cannot consider the subject in detail here. It may be said, however, that a searching enquiry on this matter and on India's medical needs, and the organisation necessary to meet them, is an urgent necessity. And it should be made in a radical spirit which realises that no branch of science belongs to a particular people, however hoary their culture or magnificent their contributions to scientific knowledge.

We may admit that the investigation and assimilation of indigenous medicine is undoubtedly desirable, but the indiscriminate building of Ayurvedic and Unani colleges can only be regarded as an ignorant waste of public money (Singh, 1929). For the Kaviraj or the Hakim, even when he is not a deliberate quack, is at best a relic of other days, whose survival has been made possible by India's lack of cultural contacts on the one hand and the policy of the British Government on the other. Even the sincere Kaviraj is more a devout Hindu than a scientist, as reference to such works as Bhishagratna's translation of the *Sushruta Samhita* will show. And in India, as elsewhere, there is need for more science and less superstition and so-called patriotism. As Das (1930) writes, " knowledge of the exact sciences is nowhere in greater need than in India, where the higher classes are imbued with metaphysics and theology and the masses with mythology and superstition. India needs, above all, a rational attitude towards life and a positive background for social and industrial reorganisation. It is the solid foundation of scientific knowledge upon which depends industrial efficiency and material progress."

To revert to our main theses, it would appear that the ancient Hindus had an outlook on sex and hygiene that was refreshingly free from the taboos of Christian and Hebraic society. Since Kama was one of the three great objects of life, sex-knowledge, for example, was supplemented even in the temples by precept, delineation and opportunity. The sexual anaglyphs of Hindu temples, for instance, must not be exclusively regarded as phallic eccentricities, but also as providing pictorial instruction in sexual technique. Moreover, they do not indicate that India is sex-mad and unduly licentious. As a matter of fact, much of India's present troubles may be regarded as due more to sex-repression, which has unfortunately received a powerful stimulus from Mr. Gandhi and other supporters of *brahmacharya* (celebacy). And intellectual timidity (as Bertrand Russell points out) and dogmatism are unavoidable concomitants of sexual inexperience.

It will be seen, therefore, that in some respect Hindu women have enjoyed privileges and potentialities for marital happiness to which the West has only recently awakened. Provided they retained their virtue, even Manu ordained that " where women are honoured there the gods rejoice.......if the wife be happy all the house is happy and if she is not happy, all are unhappy." And as sexual satisfaction was regarded as an important requisite of happiness, husbands were urged to view their marital duties as a sacred trust, the violation of which met with the strongest condemnation. To disappoint a woman during her *ritu*, (*i.e.*, the period immediately following menstruation) was regarded as one of the major sins from very early times (Meyer, 1930), essentially because the wastage of the opportunity for conception was believed to be equivalent to the slaying of an embryo. Kautilya (Shamasastry, 1923), otherwise very severe on women, followed precedent in permitting the wives of absent men to remarry, " for neglect of intercourse with one's wife after her monthly ablution is, in the opinion of Kautilya, a violation of one's duty." On Indian reverence for motherhood it is unnecessary to dilate.

It follows from what has been said that one side of the social picture created by patriarchy and the sexual outlook was remarkably bright ; the other was unusually dark and has unfortunately continued to be so. It led to the exaltation of women in many respects, but in genral to a progressive degradation, which saps at the root of all progress in India. The elaborate precautions taken to secure the purity of women, led to those glaring social evils, those injustices, which still obtain, and which no amount of " sympathetic understanding " can mitigate. Manu declared that a woman must never be independent ; that she should be subject to her father in childhood, her husband in youth, her sons if she became a widow. The husband was to be regarded as a deity. " Though destitute of virtue," says he, " or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife." Kautilya crystallises the attitude of his time towards women in a sentence: " Women are created for the sake of sons." And to procure the necessary sons anything was justifiable. Thus, " if a man has no inclination, he may not lie with his wife who is either afflicted with leprosy or is a lunatic. But if a woman is desirous of having sons, she may lie with men suffering from such diseases." The evils of child-marriage (Caton, 1930) and purdah (Hauswirth, 1932), which are associated with such an outlook, are too well-known to need discussion.

These devices of custom and religion for the preservation of chastity were supplemented by cruel punishments for those women who managed to circumvent them. For transgressions against her husband's honour, Manu would have a woman thrown to ferocious dogs. In the opinion of Kautilya and others, even the sending of gifts to a married woman constituted adultery ; if she held conversation with a man in " suspicious places " a public whipping was recommended. For more definite indiscretions Kautilya favoured cutting off the nose and ears, a custom that is still occasionally practised.

But enough has been said to indicate the interest and complexity of the information that awaits the prospective student of eugenics in ancient India. A concise work on the subject, combining historical scholarship with critical ability, would form an important contribution to the history of eugenics and encourage the destruction of those barriers of tradition which impede the welfare movement to-day. Indeed, a balanced appreciation of the heritage of Vedic India, and of the dysgenic consequences of the late Epic period, may well be regarded as one of the essential preliminaries in the progress of a country whose people are so greatly influenced by tradition.

"THE FUTURE OF RELIGION"

MATILAL DAS

IF we trace the history of man from remote past up to the present day, we find that religion has played a very important part in the evolution of human society and human civilization. Reason distinguishes man from all other forms of life. But still in the wonderful progress made by man, there has been an element of super-rational force which up till now has come from religion. Man by nature is selfish, and wants maximum of comforts with the minimum of effort. But all progress demands sacrifice of self-interest for the sake of the collective good and this motive-force has so long been supplied by religion.

This is an age of reason and in the present age of great intellectual awakening, religion is daily losing hold upon the heart of the people. It is therefore natural to ask what would be the future of religion. Will it vanish from the face of the earth or will it take a new shape ?

This is surely a vital problem of the day. Evolution requires that there should be stress and rivalry for the development of any living organism. Up till now there has been struggle between human intellect and human faith and this struggle has been the ruling force in shaping human destiny.

It is therefore reasonable to expect that if human progress is not liable to extinction, there will be some sort of super-rational sanction for human conduct. We may retain the old name, *viz.*, religion for the super-rational sanction.

But it is absolutely clear that this religion will be fundamentally different from any other religion which has prevailed up to this day.

This religion, first, will not be a religion of ritualism. Modern man has surely outgrown the spirit of magic awe and wonder from which religious rites and ceremonies evolved. Myths and rituals were things of human childhood and there is hardly any likelihood of their revival. With the growth of philosophy, mankind has discarded idolatory which in its broad sense, covers worship of both limited and unlimited deity. To the man of reason, worship of God in any form is equally a meaningless affair. The mystery of creation is still unrevealed but so far as we know of life and things, we are unable to believe that the universe is the creation of a kind and all-powerful God. We may think that this universe has evolved out of a certain mighty energy which is unknown, but then this has nothing to do with our fond conceptions of a just, merciful and benevolent creator which has been the solace of mankind in the past.

Even if some be inclined to identify the unknown energy with God, no reasonable man of science will find any meaning in doing homage to this unknown. Homage and worship are the outgoing relics of dread and fear to which man was subject in presence of cruel nature. With power wrested from her unwilling hands this dread is giving place to a healthy belief in man's own power.

It is therefore beyond all doubt that the future religion will cast off ritualism and ceremonialism.

Secondly, there will be no belief in revealed truths. Modern man respects the prophet and the founders of the various religions as great benefactors of mankind, but they are alive to the fact that religion is a product of time and evolution and is not a God-given thing. There are many fundamental differences between the revelations of the different seers and this conclusively proves that revelation cannot be the infallible word of God.

The study of comparative religion has taken away much of the so-called mystery about religion. We now understand that religion s not a superimposed thing from above, but is the result of human effort and human endeavour and as such should be judged as a human product.

We may accordingly say without any hesitancy that the future religion will bid good-bye to all beliefs in super-natural visions and super-rational revelations. Thirdly it will have no belief in previous or after life. There is hardly any proof that there is existence of man after death or that he had any previous birth. The common retributive theory seems to be fallacious, and incorrect, because no man has ever any consciousness of any wrong done in any previous birth, so the pain he suffers for acts done in a former life appears to be nothing but vindictive punishment, inconsistent with any theory of corrective by a kind God. We do not know but as far as we know, we must take this life to be the only life we have. We have no warrant to look before and after and pine for what is not. There is nothing to give us any assurance of individual immortality, but we see that humanity exists, though individuals die out.

The theory of collective immortality accords with the knowledge we have gathered in the sciences, namely, the theory of conservation of energy and matter. This will be the pivot of the coming religion. We are to model our lives and character in such a way that we may further the progress of this humanity. The future religion will thus be a religion of humanity.

It may be asked by men of the old school where and how this religion will get stimulus for social service and progress which will be its goal. First in the knowledge, that collective humanity is the abiding reality and secondly in the pleasures which men will get from such work. It is not possible to explain why we get pleasure in doing such work, just as to explain why we love a rose. It may be that there is some sort of affinity, we do not know, such as Yajnábalkya dreamt in his theory of connection, through one pervading soul. We come as sparks from the vital energy that is behind the phenomena.

Whatever may be the truth, we know not, but it it absolutely clear that as knowledge increases, and society improves, man will devote himself more and more in the service of humanity.

The future religion will thus be a religion of progress. The ideal of life would be to make the most of this life, forgetting all fond delusions about attainment of God, and happiness in after life. But it will not therefore be a life of hedonism, but on the other hand a life of strenuous devotion and service. Free from all false fear, free from worry about after life, man will find ample time and energy for serving mankind and dedicating himself for the cause of human progress.

Man has long been under the sway of pseudo-religion, and has suffered much for the same. Let him come forward with courage and conviction and by his own work bring the wished for heaven on earth.

Our mission will be one of hope and joy, one of love and service. We shall make the world more beautiful, more happy, more joyous by this life of active service than we can expect by living a life of seclusion.

Religion will thus in future be freed from all trammels and will thereby become the impulse for wider achievements, and greater advancements. It will in this new form be the life and light of all human aspirations and will be the messenger of a new era of peace and prosperity, of bliss and progress.

THE FILM IN ADULT EDUCATION.

By Sheikh Iftekhar Rasool.

Interest in the educational possibilities of the cinema seems to come in waves. At intervals ever since the War inquiries into the subject have been set on foot in the hope that this marvellous invention. which has done so much to revolutionise the amusement habits of almost all the peoples of the world, might contribute its quota to education. These inquiries, however, cannot be said to have yielded very profitable results. They have stimulated a number of unco-ordinated attempts to produce so-called educational films, but without getting over the difficulties that were presented by:—

1. The lack of knowledge as to what kind of films would be really effective and would awaken a demand among educationists. Films were produced without regard to particular educational standards or purpose.

2. The slow headway made in providing a suitable apparatus and opportunities for showing such films.

3. The lack of any general policy or centralised direction, as shown in the absence of even a complete catalogue of the educational films available.

Accordingly, consideration of the whole problem has been rather desultory. It is only recently that a new interest has been taken with the result that several films have been produced in foreign countries which have become a real force in the development of adult education.

One obvious hindrance to effective action in this direction is the enormous area of the field to be covered. Not only are there general subjects, such as the place of films in school and adult education, and the educational influence of films shown in public cinema-halls, but there are also several special subjects, such as the use of the cinema for recording and documentary purposes, and for scientific and medical instruction, which may also be taken into account. Besides this, the cinema could hardly be treated in its educational aspect without giving consideration to other kindred devices for visual instruction (by lantern, projectors, television, etc., and this visual devices themselves require co-ordinating with various auditory devices (such as the gramophone and broadcasting) whose educational significance was already recognised. No wonder, therefore, that on the one hand it needed a good deal of courage to tackle the question as a whole; and on the other there was danger of the springing-up of a number of separate small investigations of particular portions of the field, without regard to the whole. Early in 1928, the British Institute of Adult Education set up a committee to make preliminary inquiries into the best way of handling the whole problem from the point of view of adult education. Some were already of opinion that, from the analogy with broadcasting, real progress was not likely to be made except through the setting-up of a central institution, with power to co-ordinate all efforts to use the cinema educationally. They were eager to forestall any sectional attempts prematurely to launch such an institution, by taking steps to unite all forces which were favourable to such a project, and thus gain authoritative and unanimous backing for the scheme from the start.

But on the contrary, there were some who felt that the time had not yet come for such an ambitious scheme. They considered that so little had yet been done in the way of effective inquiry that no one could really yet say whether the problems of the cinema and broadcasting, for instance, were at all alike ; and they pointed to the fact that nowhere was there any clear idea, either on the educational or on the technical and commercial side, as to exactly what part films could be made to play in education.

Production of Films.

The Commission on Educational and Cultural Films was therefore constituted as a result, and attended by representatives of some hundred educational and scientific bodies; the Board of Education and several other Government departments were officially represented on this occasion. The ball was set rolling.

The whole thing created such a world-wide interest that in a short time societies sprang up in other countries and began to produce films of educational interest.

Japan accepted European culture within living memory, being already a civilised race with power of selection. To her cinematography was a doubtful foreign influence to be appraised with caution. Perhaps for that reason she seems to have understood, earlier than ourselves, how powerful an influence was the film for good or ill in national life; and, instead of rejecting it, she set herself to use the new medium constructively, with an explicit realisation of what it could do. There is a Department of Education which concerns itself with films, yet is by no means the only centre of national effort. It produces films of educational value, of a strongly patriotic character, depicting life and industries in Japan, and it employs to-day a staff of forty and spends £70,000 annually. A conscious national effort to present, and infuse into groups of children and adults, the life and culture of Japan is present in all her educational film activity.

France is already familiar with the conception that the guidance of taste is a function of Government. Public education is controlled by the Ministry of Instruction and Fine Arts which is responsible for cinematography and film production. Its membership, in addition to official nominees, includes representatives of literary and scientific bodies, the technical press, teachers and the trade. It is, therefore, representative and authoritative. One section is definitely concerned with all matters relating to the use of cinematography for raising the standard of general taste, others with technical industrial and commercial education.

The German system is decentralised, but the constructive control of cinematography is firmer and more influential. Public education is administered by the States. The Central Institute in Berlin (known, until the retirement of Dr. Lampe, as the Lampe Institute), is the older of the two, and has done some excellent work. It is staffed by Government officials, but is financed almost entirely from the proceeds of its work, fees for the examination of films, and a percentage on the profits of the certificated films. On the one hand it advises the trade as to what the schools want, examining scenarios in draft and laying down general principles for the guidance of producers, On the other it inculcates into teachers and educational bodies the value and function of educational films, by lecture and illustration. A code of instruction has been compiled on the proper way to show films in the schools on the training of pupils in the appreciation of good films. Schools receive grants from State Departments of Education for the purchase of projectors, and advice of all kinds as to their use from the institute.

Italy has carried State control one stage further, with a Government Institute, as powerful as the Lampe, which also produces films, and indeed controls Italian production. Fascism has realised the propaganda and cultural value of cinematography judiciously used. These films are distributed by Luce, which also has a film lorry for use in the countryside. Every High School has its own film library, and it is one of the tasks of Luce to produce films to stock them.

Russia has realised, as clearly as Fascist Italy, the power of the film and the Government and Communist party control cinematography even more drastically. Every film made is a film with a purpose. There are cinema clubs and rural travelling cinemas all over the country,

The Five Year Plan had a great effect on the film industry. Teachers are now being trained in the studies so that they shall be competent to assist with producing teaching films. Thus a criterion of public demand, other than box-office receipts, has been built up and a core of constructive criticism solidified.

SUBJECTS BEST SUITED FOR FILM TEACHING.

Let us now examine which departments of school work can best be dealt with by the moving picture, Space does not allow me to give full account of each of these subjects in relation to films but simply to indicate the broad lines upon which development seems to be most profitable.

Certainly in geography the film can be a powerful illustrative medium. It can depict the actual life of people in foreign countries and can consequently be used by the teacher to summarise a series of lessons. As geography teaching becomes more scientific, films involving the use of diagrams, graphs, statistics, contours and sections will be increasingly needed. Through them lessons in such subjects as isobars and isotherms can be given and can be followed immediately by pictures illustrating the effects of climate upon the lives and occupations of people in different parts of the world.

Natural phenomena can be better shown by the film than by any other method, and in this connection there is a need for a liberal supply of films illustrating waterfalls, icebergs, mountains, volcanoes, eclipses of the sun and moon. Films are also needed showing typical human activities in various parts of the world, for example, tea plantations, sugar and rice growing, cattle rearing, sheep shearing, rubber growing, iron and steel industries, house-building. Engineering feats can similarly be illustrated.

In science teaching the film can be a powerful ally. The principles of common mechanical devices such as the pulley or lever can be demonstrated and the whole subject can be summed up by showing, for example, cranes at work in the construction of bridges and mills.

Though it can never be a substitute for personal investigation into subjects like chemistry and biology, it can illustrate processes and exhibit continuous development. Slow-motion photography and micro-cinematography are opening up vast new possibilities in this field of study. This especially applies to the study of natural science, in which films can arouse interest in the wonders of nature, and can foster a desire for scientific enquiry.

In the teaching of history the place of film must ultimately be an important one. But the reconstruction of history through the film is an intensely difficult matter, and can only be undertaken with the aid of experts. In no other branch of school work does the possibility of inaccuracy loom so large. Moreover, the production of films which are in the nature of pageants is an expensive undertaking.

Films can be made to represent some of the events of social and industrial history. The filming of historical tales which have been produced with accuracy in detail costume and scenery, would make them available for schools and educational institutions of all types.

In the realm of drawing and applied art the film might play a large part by bringing vividly before the pupils eye the works of the great artists of the world, not only in pictures and sculpture but in architecture and in furniture, accompanied by talking commentary upon them by authorities of acknowledged eminence.

An important part of the work of the schools is that connected with physical training and games. The film here can be utilised to show and explain correct movements, and the contribution which games and athletic sports, folk dancing, swimming and indeed all physical activities make towards the production of a sound and healthy constitution.

All this goes to prove just one thing. We have in the cinematograph a cultural influence not associated with school ; a strong influence on adolescents varying from bad to good, but more often inclined to good. By recognising and canalising this influence we can encourage the building up of a selective adult taste and at the same time do some direct teaching and arouse interest in subjects which otherwise would sound forbidding.

A TESTING PROGRAMME FOR THE NATION

A. N. Basu.

In his address before the Central Advisory Board of Education the Education Member to the Government of India, Sir Jagdish Prasad, is reported to have suggested that University and higher education in India should be reserved for those whom he calls the aristrocrats of intellect. The reasons advanced by the Education member in support of his argument is that there is increasing unemployment among the educated classes and consequently there is a good deal of wastage in the university stage of education. Many students join the universities who are not intellectually gifted enough to profit by that education. They spend a large amount of money and waste a valuable portion of their lives in the quest of something which is beyond their reach. The result is failure, heart-burning and discontent. Those among them who manage somehow or other to obtain a degree cannot find employment. Then again the presence of a large number of this type of students tends to lower the standard of university education. So there is a huge wastage of men, money and time. Therefore, it is said, we should restrict the admission to higher education and allow only those who are by nature endowed with a higher order of intellect.

Of late the system of university education in this country has come for a great deal of criticism and every conceivable evil from terrorism to unemployment has been traced to it. One may very well question the cogency of such arguments. And then, compared to other countries, the number of students who join the universities in this country is certainly not unusually large. Also the restriction of university education to the selected few aristocrats of intellect will not automatically solve the problem of unemployment and other social evils. The evil of unemployment can only be cured by creating new avenues of employment and mental maladjustment by helping people to adjust and lead a balanced life.

However, inspite of what I have said above, I feel that there is a grain of truth in what Sir Jagdish Prasad has said. I agree with his premises though not with his conclusions. It will be difficult not to admit that a large number of students, because they have no other avenues open to them, join the university course though they may not have any special aptitude or liking for higher education. Many of us go to the University because, at one time and to some extent even to-day, University degrees had and have economic values attached to them; there are many who take University courses because it is the fashion; some others take it because they have nothing else to do; and only a few go there who have any real liking and aptitude for it. It would be better for us as a nation and for all concerned that only students of the last category should go to the university. That will stop a huge wastage of man and money power.

But who shall decide and how shall we decide who are to receive higher education and who not? At the very outset it must be made clear that there should be no artificial restriction to University education. The Universities should not be the special preserves for any section of people arbitrarily chosen. Raising of fees and making University education more expensive will successfully prevent a large number of poor but meritorious students from enjoying the benefits of higher education. But such artificial restriction to higher education will be disastrous to the intellectual life of the people. I have sounded this note of warning because there has already been a move in the direction of raising the university fees.

If restrict it we must let us first find out who are best fitted to profit by higher education and then see that they are given ample opportunities to do the same. And for that purpose let us find out the best method of selection which is not based on economic values or social status. The one object of such selection will be to pick out those who are most suited and best fitted to profit by a course of University education.

What then should be the method of selection? Usually external examinations are used for this purpose. But after the findings of the International Examination Enquiry Committee which have been published recently it would be futile to hold that examinations, as they are at present constituted, are any sure guide to the intelligence and intellectual attainments of the examinee. If the marks on the same script examined by competent and eminent examiners may differ almost by cent. per cent. and these are not exceptions, we can hardly rely on the method of examination. In fact the ordinary external examinations are notorious for their unreliability. The varying moods and passing fancy of the examiner have sometime an influence on the marks awarded by him. And then to judge the results of several years' labour by dissertations written in the course of a few hours under the most artificial circumstances can hardly be fair. Yet inspite of all that had been written about the unreliability of external examinations we still make a fetish of them and depend upon them to select the best among us. No wonder these external examinations have such tremendous and evil influence on our whole system of education.

If then we cannot rely on external examinations what shall we be guided by? The psychologists have suggested the use of intelligence tests for this purpose. They claim that these tests have been standardised and made objective. The greatest drawback of the usual examination is its subjectiveness and consequent unreliability. The intelligence tests are at least free from this element and can be more relied upon. The psychologists also calim that these tests can be successfully used for grouping people according to their native intelligence. They further say that tests can also be devised to find out specific abilities of men. Achievement tests have also been devised to measure the actual achievement in particular directions. Together with the intelligence tests they fairly indicate not only the inherent capacities of students but also their effort and industry. For after all intelligence is useful only in so far as it is put into use.

The widest and the most extensive use of the intelligence tests has been in connection with the U.S.A. army. There a million men were tested for finding out the level of their intelligence; and the tests were eminently successful for grouping men according to their intelligence and picking out the leaders. These experiments conclusively proved the utility of these and similar other tests. In fact now-a-days the psychological tests are widely used there for various purposes. Every school organisation has a complete testing programme for itself. Every child is tested for intelligence not once but more than once during his educational career. This is a precaution worth noting. Besides the intelligence tests standardised achievement tests are also widely used. They indicate the correlation between intelligence and effort. There are also standardised tests for vocational guidance to help students to select the vocations for which they have special aptitude and abilities.

In some colleges tests are also given to help the freshmen in selecting courses for which they are best fitted. Perhaps it will not be out of place to mention here that in U.S.A. educational tests are used not only in schools but in colleges as well. In fact every educational unit in that country has its psychologists, and psychiatrists (attached to it). This is technically known as the personnel service. Any one who knows anything of the educational system in U.S.A. knows of the great work done by these personnel services attached to educational units in that country.

All these tests aim at preventing any wastage of educational effort. Usually what we understand by a system of education is something which is meant for the average pupil, who does not exist in reality. There we try to force down the same matter in the same way through the throat of all. In such a system there is bound to be wastage unless we are always on the alert. Individual differences are a reality and a well organised system of education tries to cater as far as possible for these individual differences. Educational maladjustment very often results because we do not pay sufficient attention to such individual differences.

In our country then if we we want to prevent wastage of educational effort or even if we want to pick out the aristocrats of intellect we must use different type of psychological and educational tests. What we really need is a battery of tests of different types. Each of these types will have to be adapted and standardised for Indian conditions. Tests which are suitable for America or England will not necessarily be suitable for India also. The educational standards in the different countries are not the same; so the tests will have to be different.

Our first task in this direction will be to bring about the much-needed co-operation between the departments of psychology and education in the different universities. Very often our psychologists lack the stimulating contact with the actualities of school life.

As regards the preparation of standardised sets of intelligence tests I suggest that the Central Advisory Board should set up a small committee of psychologists and entrust the work to them. The committee may work in collaboration with the different universities.

With regard to achievement tests I feel that as the provincial standards differ to a great extent provincial committees consisting of psychologists and educationists, should be set up to prepare them. The preparation of tests of vocational guidance and tests for helping students to select the courses of studies for which they are best fitted should also be entrusted to the central board.

I am not optimistic enough to believe that the present matriculation and other examinations will be completely supplanted by psychological tests so devised in any near future. But it may be that these will be supplemented by the psychological tests and more and more reliance placed on the latter.

Before concluding I shall like to point out one advantage for using the psychological tests for the purposes suggested. In this country the problem of equalisation of standards of university degrees has been rather troublesome. We have no method of precisely appraising the standards of the different university degrees. The use of psychological tests may help us in this direction too. Standardised psychological tests not only offer us a ready, scientifically precise and objective means of grading students but they also provided us means with which differing standards can be accurately measured and compared. What we then need to-day is a complete testing programme for the nation and the task of the psychologists and educationists of India will be to provide the nation with it.

[1] Read at the 12th Conference of the All-India Federation of Educational Association held at Gwalior.

At Home and Abroad

Everest Expedition

The picturesque manner in which the Tibetan Cabinet gave permission for the expedition to Mount Everest next year is described in the latest despatch received from the British Mission now at Lhasa.

The Mission gave a luncheon party on New Year's Day, to which they invited the Prime Minister, four members of the Cabinet and other notable Tibetan personalities. On their arrival the first act of the Cabinet was to hand to Rai Bahadur Norbhu a sealed packet made of coarse Tibetan paper, together with the customary white silk scarf of greeting. When the packet was opened, if was found to contain permission for an Everest Expedition in 1938.

The Cabinet had been considering the matter for weeks. and it was an act of the greatest courtesy to hand over the permit so unostentatiously as a New Year present.

Neolithic Pottery and Iron Implements

The report has been received of the discovery of a few Neolithic pottery and iron implements at Vellimalai, in South Travancore, about 38 miles from Trivandrum. Two broken burial furns were unearthed, in one of which two iron implements resembling axes were found. The State Archaeological Superintendent who visited the spot, it is understood, has been able to discover the existence of half a dozen more burial urns on the spot, and it is hoped that their excavation will take place soon. The iron implements have been brought to the Trivandrum Museum, where they are being exhibited in the Pre-Historics Section.

Nizam's Silver Jubilee

An imposing Durbar reminiscent of the ancient Moghul days was held recently in the Khilawat Palace where His Exalted Highness the Nizam motored through brilliantly illuminated streets lined with cheering crowds and received Nazars presented by about a thousand people including nobles, sardars, merchants and officials. The Nizam who came accompanied by his daughters and members of the Royal family was offered a guard of honour and conducted to the White Pedestal, the whole assembly rising in salutation, after which the proceedings commenced. The Nizam left as soon as the presentation of Sanads was over. The musical programme which had been arranged was abandoned at the desire of His Exalted Highness. Display of departmental progress, the last item of the Jubilee programme which was opened by the Nizam on February 26 was a very interesting show when various departments of the Nizam's Government demonstrated, through charts, models and graphs, the progress achieved by each department during the last 25 years of the Nizam's rule.

The City Improvement Board exhibited through plaster models the schemes effected and undertaken to modernise the city. The public works department has prepared a salver costing Rs, 30,000, showing important irrigational projects. There were numerous other models depicting progressive Hyderabad in all its phases of life.

Future of Poland

A move, which appears to be a step towards making Poland a modified form of "totalitarian State" was announced by Col. Koc described as the right-hand man of Marshall Ridzsmigly.

A Warsaw message states that Col. Koc's announcement took the form of a broadcast manifesto stressing the conception of the State as the sole form of guaranteeing a nation's existence and declaring that national defence demanded that a nation's internal life should be directed by one will.

Col. Koc stated that the manifesto was based on the declaration of last May by Marshall Ridzsmigly, whom the late dictator Pilsudski named as his successor. He concluded by inviting co-operation of Pole's united effort for the creation of disciplined strength led by a single will.

Nanking Decision

A manifesto approving the Nanking Government's pacific policy to Japan has been issued at the conclusion of the plenary session of the Central Executive Council of the Kuomingtang. The manifesto reiterates the necessity of suppressing communism in China.

Pan-American Conference

The President of the Pan-American Conference for the Consolidation of Peace sent a communication to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations stating that the Conference had unanimously decided that its decisions should be formally communicated to the two great institutions which, imbued with the highest idealism, co-operate with great authority with all those who work with good will to secure the reign of peace on earth—namely, the Catholic Church in the person of its visible head, and the League of Nations, which has been set up for the welfare of humanity as a result of an American initiative.

The Secretary-General of the League replied that he was convinced that the Members of the League of Nations would highly appreciate the intentions which led the Inter-American Conference to communicate its agreements and decisions to it.

Treaty of Alliance

The Government of the United Kingdom recently forwarded for registration by the Secretariat of the League the texts of the Treaty of Alliance and of the Convention regarding the immunities and privileges of British Forces in Egypt, signed in London on August 26th, 1936, between the United Kingdom and Egypt.

Aliens in the Various Countries of the World

According to a study published by the Inter-national Labour Office, there were throughout the world, in 1930, 28,900,000 aliens, or persons living in another country than their own. This figure represents 1·6% of the total world population, estimated at some 2 billion persons.

The countries with the greatest number of aliens were: the United States, with 6,300,000 (or 21·8% of all aliens recorded in the world); and Argentina, with 2,800,000.

Then came the following countries: France, which had 2,400,000 in 1926 and 2,700,000 in 1931; Brazil, with 1,500.000 in 1920 ; British Malaya, with 1,870,000, Siam, with 1,000,000; and Germany, with 787,000.

The countries where the increase in the number of aliens was the greatest were, in ascending order, in Europe: Greece, Italy, France and the Netherlands; outside Europe: Argentina, Canada, Hong-Kong, the Netherlands East Indies, British Malaya and Korea.

However, in order to have a fairer idea of the importance of the problem of aliens in a country, account must be taken of the number of aliens per thousand inhabitants, or the "proportion of aliens." The average proportion for Europe (not including the U.S.S.R.) was 15·4 ; buf it rose to 186 in Luxemburg, 87 in Switzerland, 66 in France, 43 in Austria and 39 in Belgium. The following countries have figures below the average proportion: Germany (12), Bulgaria (10), Hungary (9), Turkey (6), Portugal (5), the British Isles (4), Italy and Finland (3).

Important changes have taken place in this field since the war. While in Germany (present territory) the number of aliens decreased, France, which in 1910 had 29 aliens per thousand inhabitants, had 39 per thousand in 1921 and 66 per thousand in 1931. Switzerland, which in 1910 had the highest proportion in Europe (148 per thousand), after that period had a decrease which has continued (104 in 1920 and 87 in 1930).

The number of Asiatics in foreign countries increased from 5 millions in 1910 to 9½ millions in 1930. But the number of Europeans abroad, although it slightly decreased from 1910 to 1930, was still much greater—22,400,000 in 1930, or more than double.

The publication prepared by the International Labour Office containing this information is the first international study made of national census figures relating to aliens. It is a comparative study of the censuses of 1910, 1920 and 1930, dealing with 141 territories. It also brings out the difficulties underlying an international comparison of the result of such censuses—because of the lack of comparability of national statistics and the divergences as to the notion and definition of an alien.

The Spanish Conflict

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain asked the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council Members of the League his account of the seizure of the German steamer *Palos* and at the same time protested against the constant despatch of volunteers to Spain, which, he said, was capable of leading to the greatest complications.

Regarding the *Palos* incident, he explained that the ship, part of whose cargo consisted of war material, was arrested in waters under Spanish jurisdiction. After the war materials had been attached by the Spanish authorities, the ship was allowed to continue her voyage with the rest of the cargo and the crew, except for one Spanish citizen with no papers who was on board. The right of the Spanish authorities to examine ships within territorial waters derived, he said, from the right of police and is inherent in every sovereign State.

The note then went on to say that the arrest of the *Palos* was made the pretext for reprisals by the German fleet, which had committed acts of direct aggression against Spanish vessels trading between different ports in the Peninsula controlled by the Spanish Government.

After describing a series of these incidents, the note contains a radiogram sent by the German Rear-Admiral Von Fischel to the Valencia Government, stating that the two Spanish vessels seized by German naval forces would be returned if the Spanish Government surrendered the passengers and the rest of the cargo of the *Palos*, and that, if such a surrender did not take place, the seized Spanish vessels and their cargoes would be handed over " and used in agreement with the Spanish Government recognised by us."

The Spanish Foreign Minister Senor del Vayo, stated that his Government could not admit that the exercise of police right in Spanish territorial waters over German merchant ships trading with the rebels was any justification for firing upon Spanish merchant ships. Furthermore, that his Government could not reply to the injunctions of a German Admiral in Spanish waters, without surrendering its rights in their entirety, nor could it bargain with its sovereignty. The aggressive activity of the German fleet, he said, was the latest form of the German Government's systematic breach of the Non-Intervention Agreement.

Finally, the Spanish Foreign Minister drew attention to the fact that this action on the part of the German Navy was capable of leading to the gravest complications. If the Spanish Navy or Air Force happened to be on the spot when such incidents occurred, they would be obliged to take defensive action so as to prevent the German Navy's interference. In this eventuality, the whole object of the policy of non-intervention, in so far as it aimed at localising the conflict, would be seriously compromised.

In conclusion, he said that the whole cause of European peace was placed in imminent danger by the coincidence between such aggressions and the constant despatch of volunteers by countries which manifestly seek to repeat the game of placing other nations in the face of accomplished facts and are sending as many thousands of men as they consider necessary. as they have already done in the case of war material, hoping to sign a general agreement once their objectives have been attained. This was clearly the purpose of certain delays. In his speech to the Council on December 11th, he spoke of " the international war on Spanish soil." He should now add: " and on the Spanish seas." The Spanish Government's anxiety which led it to ask for the extraordinary session of the Council owing to the insecurity of peace was fully justified. Subsequent events, he said, have unfortunately proved it doubly right.

News and Views.

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, events and movements in India and outside.]

Inter-University Board.

Among the subjects put down for consideration at the meeting of the Inter-University Board at Nagpur were the following:

The recommendation of the Sapru Committee regarding the raising of the fees charged by Universities, the restriction of admission of students to Universities, the adoption of a system of co-ordination between different Universities with a view to preventing unhealthy competition and securing an unanimity of standard and the setting up of an advisory grants committee to advise the Ministries of Education in regard to the grants which are made to Universities for research work, etc.

The prevailing opinion is that Indian Universities have yet to take a leading part in the development of modern Indian languages. The desirability of setting up a committee to suggest ways and means for making the vernacular the medium of teaching will also be considered.

The suggestion made by the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India that the Department of Industry and Labour would be glad if the position regarding the inclusion of aeronautical instruction in the curriculum of Indian Universities is to be considered by the Board.

The desirability of some degree of unanimity in the pre-medical course of study in Chemistry, Physics and Biology.

There were two resolutions of the Central Advisory Board of Education to the effect, (1) that it is desirable that a National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation should be set up in India, and, (2) that the Central Advisory Board of Education should act as the National centre of educational information on the understanding that the Educational Commissioner should obtain the data required from the Secretary of the Inter-University Board and that he should refer any important question to the Board for its opinion before it is forwarded.

Japanese University Mountaineering Club

An application for permission to enter India in order to explore the Baltoro glacier in the Karakorum in the summer of 1938, was made by the Alpine Club of the Kyoto University.

Indian Students

Indian students came from all parts of the country to attend the annual dinner at the Indian Students' Union and hostel, in Gower Street, London. The principal attraction was Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the eminent Indian philosopher and Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford.

More than 400 students gathered in the large hall, which was gaily decorated with garlands and festoons. The menu, including chicken and vegetable curries, rice, papadams, hot chutneys and pickled chillies, added to the enjoyment of the evening.

Dr. S. C. Mehta, president of the union, was in the chair and the toast was proposed by Sir Ewart Greaves, a former High Court Judge of Calcutta and sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

He described Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan as "the greatest living Indian philosopher."

Sir Sarvapalli, in his reply, humorously confessed that he was bitterly disappointed with Oxford.

"I was told," he said, "that Oxford was a place where no one was expected to work." But he found that not only was he expected to give lectures but that he was also expected to be at the mercy of the students throughout the terms. Stephen Leacock had said that Oxford was a purveyor of useless knowledge; "and now they have added to the list of useless subjects—Eastern Religions and Ethics."

He pointed out, however, that Oxford had a definite contribution to make. The three or four thousand young men who assembled there each term were taught to value fairplay and to dislike intrigue.

"Each of these young men would rather lose the game than play it foul," declared Sir Sarvapalli.

Turning to another topic, he said: "Many of us have quarrelled with the way things are administered in India, but no one will deny that in the recent crisis there was a remarkable demonstration of dignity and studied restraint."

The great lesson of those historic days was that a successful democracy required a disciplined nation. He pleaded that the principles of democracy should be extended. If it was good for England it must be good for India. A time was coming when the world must be reorganised on the basis of democracy.

His final words were reserved for the students themselves. He declared that they must justify their education in this country, which was given to them at great expense, by disciplining themselves on the principle of democracy. They must prepare themselves to fight for the underdog.

If India was to work democracy efficiently, she must become disciplined. Her young men and women must learn to sink their petty differences of caste and religion for the common weal of all.

Education in C. P. and Berar

A Government resolution on the annual report of the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, on the state and progress of Education in the Central Provinces and Berar for the year ending the 31st March, 1936, states that Government notes with satisfaction the steady and all round progress recorded during the year under report in almost every branch of education. Numerical growth in some cases has outstripped financial provision and the realization of this fact had led to the closure of a number of primary schools in certain areas. This accounts for the comparatively small increase in the total number of educational institutions. The total enrolment shows a slight decline as the appreciable rise in number at the higher stages is more than counterbalanced by the decrease at the primary stage.

The continuance of a state of general apathy, specially in rural areas, and the unsatisfactory tone of administration are the main factors which have hampered the progress of vernacular education. Expedient and practicable measures to check wastage and stagnation have been enforced and it is hoped that definite signs of improvement will soon be discernible.

The increase in the number of scholars at all stages, except the primary, in spite of the persistent economic depression is a matter for satisfaction. It is particularly gratifying to note the appreciable advance at the various stages made by Aborigines, Backward Classes and Muhammadans. Female education, especially at the higher stages, shows signs of steady progress

Government hopes that the contemplated legislative measures to improve the tone of administration of vernacular education will be persevered with and that the schemes of educational reconstruction already undertaken by the department will yield the desired results in due course. It is satisfactory to note that the needs of rural education are being examined. The advance of literacy, especially among the rural masses, is a matter of vital importance for the future welfare of the province and the results of the present activities of the department, which are supported by enlightened public opinion, will be watched with much interest.

New Professor of Mining Engineering

The Government of India have selected Dr. R. P. Sinha for appointment as Professor of Mining Engineering, Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad.

Miscellany

SEAL'S THREE IDEALS
ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The stanzas of the *Gita* are well-known in the history of culture as doses of philosophy in verse. Brajendranath Seal's *Quest Eternal* (London, 1936) bids fair to be appraised as such by students of poetry and philosophy. The work formally aims at being a versical summary of philosophical outlooks, ancient, medieval and modern. But its merits are likely to carry it beyond the range of a mere versification of three different types of philosophy. Seal has succeeded in creating a number of artistic situations and clear-cut characters, and these are well-calculated to furnish poetic delights to readers such as care to ignore or forget the history of philosophical ideas.

The *milieu* that creates the ancient ideal as conceived by Seal is half gnostic, half neo-platonic. The hero is a Greek priest who has travelled as far East as Taxila or Mathura in India and spent quite a long time in Bactria. In the course of his world-travels he has made it a point to study the philosophy, god-lore and fine arts of the Hindus.

The humanism of Seal's ancient hero finds expression in the following invocation:

" Thee nothing human doth displease,
For thou hast not disdained to wear the human face!
Thy Muses, Graces, Charities
Are human mysteries;
Thou tastest of the cup from which Thou
freely serv'st man's race! "
(I. 39-43.)

This cycle of hymns is encyclopaedic enough to comprise new forms of the Godhead,—intelligential essences and fair humanities, the Maid Eternal, the Child Eternal and the Mighty-Mother. The apparitions of the Godhead as the terrible and the demoniac are invoked as much as those of the raptures and rhythms.

The hymn rises up to the final conception that the " Great Illusion knows nor love nor hate." And further,

" Thy human mysteries,
Thy Dance of Love,
Thy Dance of Death,
Thy Graces, Pities, Charities,
Are as the desert Sphinx impassive
Implacable as Fate! "
(I. 296-302.)

To works like Harrison's *New Calendar of Great Men* the student goes for history, biography and bibliography. But the verses as those of Seal's present the lover of poetry with fine literary forms. While watching the progress of the human mind one is not forced to inquire about the dates and localities, the chronologies, geographies and ethnologies of the "cosmic waves' progression." The ideology is concrete and yet universal enough to rise to the level of pure poetry.

Seal has shown diversity of creative power as regards forms and matter. If the ancient ideal has been given out in the form of a hymn coming from a Greek priest, the medieval ideal has found expression in and through a ballad.

The hero of the medieval ideal is the Wizard Knight. He is a product not so much of the Catholic *Weltansehauung* as of the three mystical brotherhoods of the age, namely, Platonic, Syrian and Magian. Indeed, the *psyche* of this Knight-errant is definitely in conflict with the Catholic type.. In his mental *Gestalt* have entered such rationalistic world-views as those of the Mutazilas and *Ikhwanus Safa* (Sincere Brethren). The revived neo-platonism of Syria, and to a certain extent, the ideas of the Magi-lore have likewise contributed to the making of Seal's medieval hero. Students of history as well as philosophy will feel how Seal has dug deep in order to discover forces more profound than Catholicism, which as a rule covers the canvas of conventional historiographers of the Middle Ages.

The medieval hero of Seal is an uncompromising Titan, a dare-devil pilgrim of truth, a veritable *satyagrahi.*

" It was an unearthly glare
Rapt him as he told his deed weird and bold,
How to the Fates his life he had sold,
During the curse, pronounced of old
On him who would see Truth bare ! "

(II. 1 09-113.)

The Satanic pride of this Truth-seeker finds expression in the following lines:

" For to Church or Empire as liege or umpire
Or to Turk who seals the Byzantine rampire,
I owe no fealty;
Their rule is treason to the Commonwealth of reason
(The Cosmic order star-writ in Heaven)
Universal free ! "

(II. 148-153.)

The peace of Catholicism is the furthest removed from the quest of Seal's Medieval hero. He disparages the gifts of the Virgin Mother, thus,

" The Lady of Sorrows, from death she borrows
The snowy pall of Peace ;
The Power of Meekness, of weeping Weakness
of praying charities
Are hers, the Mother's, her children she gathers,
And folds them blind in bliss."

(II. 199-204.)

It is not a "blind bliss " that he craves for, the bliss associated with meekness, weakness, prayers and tears. His is a sterner peace, the peace of the struggling, combative, creative souls. He declares his *credo* as follows:

> "I'd rather burn than renegade turn,
> The right to Peace and Hope thus earn,
> And Truth and Freedom miss!"
>
> (II. 205-207.)

He is a votary of truth and freedom and is not bent on peace and hope at any price. He wants to be one of the "seers,"

> "Whose eye the ideal firmament clears;
> No longer Destiny's minions
> But co-workers free."
>
> (II. 213-215).

The work is not marred by *isms* and abstractions as the versification of philosophical systems or even philosophical poetry generally is. Indeed, one doubts if Seal is dealing with any system at all. We are reminded easily of Browning's *Paracelsus* in Seal's elucidation of both the medieval and the modern ideals. The two tragedies conceived by Seal are superb and are fine contributions to the progress of the modern spirit. He has furnished the twentieth century with two remarkable exponents or rather embodiments of the cosmic struggle.

Seal's modern hero is humanity itself in its simple universality. The problem of civilization *vis-à-vis* the primitive and the pagan constitutes the fundamental *élan vital* of this hero. Psyche the Soul's vision of deathless love as well as Promethous the Deliverer, form the spiritual background of the strife that is being waged in the modern setting against the savage ritual of the omophagic sacrifice. The hero's ambition is to be a *mrityunjaya*, a conqueror of death, *i.e.*, to attain mastery over the evil forces which seek to frustrate all ideal strivings.

Seal has conceived thereby a new *Faust* for the twentieth century. The modern hero's quest of immortality is gradually transformed from the ambition of an individual into that of all mankind for redemption. But the redeemer dreamt of is neither an external nor a universal force but the individual soul itself purified and illuminated. The hero passes through the tribulations of the ages and undergoes the tragedy of the human race since the earliest times. It is by recapitulating vicariously the tragedy of entire mankind that he frees himself from his own passion, and finds himself on the road to freedom and immortality.

The situation is described by the hero thus:

> "By slow unconscious steps, I moved
> To the central cosmic light, in which I'd see
> Transfigured, in the heart of things, my story.
> The individual passion of my life
> As world-passion of Creative Deity!"
>
> (III. 819-823).

Like Browning's Paracelsus Seal's modern hero lays bare his soul in the following words:

> "Beautiful dreams of renovated Man
> I dreamt undaunted still: I'd overcome

As with forgotten notes of a last lost lyre,
The Powers of Darkness and unreason old
Throned in the Deep of the Universal Heart."
(III. 390-394.)

Seal has contributed to the modern world

" The just man militant! He is the Way,
A New Prometheus, Universal man!
Himself he frees from the revolving Wheel
Of Law, the blind Necessity that binds
Tyrant and victim to one doom. Outlaw,
An inner peace beyond the Fates he seeks,
In soul-war against an iron Universe."
(III. 470-476.)

In this grand epic of the march of the human personality through the ages we hear very often the "strains of Creation's choral song" which come "bursting with the uproarious roll of Aeons" (III. 961-962).

It is the poetry of the cosmic voice

" Chanting the law of man's deliverance,
Wisdom to master Death, the Power of Life!"
(III. 971-973.)

Those readers who do not know that Seal is a philosopher or was a professor of philosophy will not take long to enjoy these dignified verses as some very brilliant and beautiful creations of our own times in the realm of poetry.

Benoykumar Sarkar

BRITISH SHIPPINB POLICY THROUGH LABOUR EYES.

In December 1934 the President of the Board of Trade moved a Money Resolution granting a subsidy of £3,000,000 to tramp shipping and authorising advances to the extent of £10,000,000 for scrapping old vessels and building new or modernising existing vessels. Prior to the debate consult ations took place with the Joint Committee of the Seamen's and Transport Workers' Unions. The British Labour Party strongly criticised the Government's Policy, drew attention to the grievances of the seamen, and challenged the Government to institute a thorough enquiry into the conditions of employment in the Mercantile Marine. The Government made no reply to this and the Resolution was opposed.

On the Second Reading of the necessary Bill the Party moved :

> " That, whilst this House recognise the necessity for State intervention to secure the rehabilitation of the Mercantile Marine, it regards the payment of a public subsidy to private interests as a method of assistance which has proved to be undesirable and ineffective, and which is still less worthy of support when unaccompanied by any measures to ensure the payment of fair wages and good working conditions to those employed on board ship, as well as the reinstatement of the many British domiciled seamen who are out of employment through the substitution of cheap labour."

The amendment was rejected by 121 to 38.

In Committee the following Amendments were moved and rejected :—

> "That the Tramp Shipping Subsidy Committee (which is to superintend the payment of the subsidy) should consist of persons having no direct financial or other interest in the shipping industry.
>
> That the subsidy should only be paid in respect of vessels having satisfactory accommodation for the crews.
>
> That the subsidy should not be given unless proper wages were paid, the conditions of employment were of a reasonable standard for British labour, and the vessel was efficiently manned on deck and below.
>
> That payment of the subsidy should be dependent upon a reasonable proportion of the crew being British domiciled persons.
>
> That the Ships Replacement Committee (which is to superintend the grant of loans in respect of demolition, reconstruction and building) should, to the extent of at least one-fourth of its membership, consist of Trade Union representatives.
>
> That the Fair Wages Clause applicable to Government contracts should apply to the work of demolition, reconstruction and building."

The Bill was read a third time by 147 to 37, the Party opposing it and once again charging the Government with disregarding the legitimate complaints of the seamen.

Many questions were put regarding the loss of several ships and their crews alleged to be due to unseaworthiness or undermanning or both, and at last in a debate on March 26 some impression was made upon the President of the Board of Trade, for in his reply he undertook to institute a public inquiry into the loss of the "Usworth," the "Mill-pool," "La Crescenta" and the "Blairpowrie."

The Inquiry is proceeding, and when completed the Party intend to press the Minister for some definite action to bring the Merchant Shipping Acts up to date and to improve the conditions of life at sea.—*Report of the Thirty-fifth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (*London*).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

FOOD PLANNING IN GERMANY.

A full account of the proceedings at the Reich Peasant Assembly held in Goslar was published in the German papers. The problems and tasks connected with the organisation of the German food-supplies formed the main feature of the expert reports and demonstrations made at this meeting.

There are no outward signs, we understand, of food scarcity in the daily life of the people. All the shops are fully stocked with provisions, and there are no food queues waiting outside. It is equally true that no substitute food-stuffs of doubtful value have appeared on the market, and there are said to be no illicit dealers worthy of mention. Many Germans remember only too well how these profiteers charged exorbitant prices in the period following the war.

The German housewife is, however, already beginning to feel the pinch in some directions. Bread (and even white bread) is considered to be available in abundant quantity. The same applies to potatoes, vegetables, sugar, and milk. Since the spring of 1935, there have been certain difficulties in obtaining meat and fats. This is particularly the case with beef and vegetable fats, whereas a scarcity in butter, such as prevailed some time ago, has not shown itself to any perceptible degree.

In order to secure that all sections of the population are supplied with the necessary food provisions, strict laws against unwarranted raising of prices have been issued by the Government. Legal action is reported to have already been taken against profiteers, and future offenders are threatened with penal servitude. Specially flagrant cases are to be punished by protective custody and publication of the firms' names. The public are being enlightened of the fact that Germany will have to reckon on the import of certain foreign foodstuffs in the near future. At the present time, the German nation has to cover 20% of its requirements in vegetable and animal food provisions, including the necessary fodder, from abroad. This state of dependence on foreign supplies corresponds exactly to what existed previous to 1914 and in reality marks a considerable step forward when one considers that Germany lost 15% of her agrarian territory through the Versailles Treaty, and in particular her Eastern provinces. By an extension of intensive land-cultivation, increase in the hectare produce, slaughter-weights, and milk yield it has been possible to bring the production of animal products up to a level exceeding that of 1914. Taken altogether, Germany was able to decrease her import surplus of food and fodder provisions from RM. 1,784,000,000 in 1932 to RM. 1,279,000,000 in 1935. The lowering of prices on the international market was of course a contributory factor in bringing about this result.

The unfavourable weather of the last two years is reported to have brought unforeseen difficulties. The drought in the summer of 1934 and the ensuing bad crops led to an extremely high excess supply of cattle and pigs. Slaughtering on a vast scale took place, and this was soon followed by a scarcity. The 1935 harvest was again not a particularly favourable one. It was impossible to breed sufficient cattle to complete the stock, so that the scarcity continued and slaughtering had to be cut down to 60%. The crop of fodder provisions this year has also not come up to expectations, and in view of the lack of foreign exchange it may hardly be possible to increase the imports of foreign fodder. The pig market, however, is likely to bring some relief to this state of affairs in the near future, as the stock of pigs has now reached the record figure of 26,000,000. This is due to the systematic measures undertaken by the Reich Nutrition Committee. It is in contemplation to avoid excessive slaughtering so that a corresponding scarcity does not set in next summer (1937).

The present consumption of fats in Germany is estimated at 2,000,000 tons of pure fat. A considerable portion of this qnantity, including fodder provision imports, has to be brought into the country from abroad :—American lard, Dutch and Danish butter, oleiferous fruits and seeds for the manufacture of margarine, as also albuminous fodder plants for cattle-forage. In this instance, any import barriers imposed show their effect fairly rapidly. An example of this is furnished by the present lack of whale-oil, perceptible throughout the world due to the large advance supplies made to England. Germany had recently made use of this commodity on a large scale for the manufacture of margarine, obtaining it from Norway on a barter-basis.

The supply of bread and potatoes, the final reserves of all nutrition, is said to be adequate. Farmers have been under an obligation for some time past to deliver grain and potatoes, and this is subject to sharp supervision. It is calculated that there is deficit this year of about 500,000 tons of wheat, which can only be replaced by the rye crops (sufficient in themselves) if rye-fodder is restricted or the grounding percentage of the rye is raised.

The Reich Nutrition Committee has drawn up a rigid economic plan, which imposes many restrictions and inconveniences on the farmers. though it has not been thought fit to introduce bread and meat cards for the consumer. It is only as far as the consumption of butter and eggs is concerned that retailers are urged to keep a list of customers, in order to ensure that the requirements in these commodities are covered on a uniform and adequate basis. According to this plan the consumer in Germany will have to count on certain restrictions in the consumption of fats and vegetables during early summer (1937).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

INTERNAL COLONIZATIGN IN ITALY.

At Palazzo Venezfa, on 27 October, 1936, in the presence of all Government and Party Authorities, of the Governor of Rome, the Presidents of the Fascist Confederations of Agricultural Workers, of Trade, of Credit and Insurance Firms, the President of the Fascist Confederation of Farmers, the Head of the Cabinet of the Ministry for the Colonies and also the Commissary and the Secretary General for Internal Settlement, Mussolini presented premiums to 525 heads of families, mostly drawn from the reclaimed areas.

The proceedings were inaugurated by an address by Deputy Nannini, Commissary for Internal Settlement, who gave an account of the work of the Commissariat during the eleventh year of its existence.

After stating that in addition to the present heads of families, to whom awards had been made, a further 2,098 would receive awards next December in the Agro Pontino, and 550 during the spring (1937) in the Italian Mediterranean Colonies, the speaker called attention to the fact that in the present year the number of families, which had obtained awards, is 3,173, as against 81 in the eighth year of the Regime, 248 in the ninth year, 533 in the tenth, 1,220 in the eleventh, 2,233 in the twelfth and 2,640 in the thirteenth year, the total amounts distributed amounting to 11,178,000 lires.

Deputy Nannini also stated that in six years, families established in land reclamation areas numbered 10,477, with a total of 82,954 units. Herein are included 214 families with 1,639 units already established in Sardinia, and 1,620 families with 12,587 units transferred and settled in Libia. Among these families the rate of increase in population is particularly high.

In the Agro Pontino, under an arrangement with the *Opera Nazionale Combattenti* whereby a special settlers' agreement has been established, the rural workers in Littoria will be assured of becoming the owners of the lands on which they work.

During the XIVth year of the Regime, 300,000 working units have been transferred from areas with a high population density to large-scale works of particular importance, and have accomplished 15,000,000 working days. During the five year period the number of workers transferred has been 1,583,320. In the Agro Pontino alone, since the date of reclamation. 215,148 men have been working in alternate shifts, not including those at work in the Province of Littoria,

The assistance work of the Commissariat on behalf of migrant workers has been vigorously pursued. During the five year period, subsidies and direct assistance amounted to 1,043,162 lires while the cost of free travelling allowance for needy workers was 811,226 lires. The expenditure incurred on canteens, rest-houses and lodgings for workers in the Agro Pontino has reached at the present date 2,191,591 lires.

In 22 months, from January 1935 to October 1936, the Commissariat has transferred to East Africa 140,000 workmen, with an average of over 7,000 transferred per month ; the Italian workers who have remained in East Africa for an average period of 230 days, have been employed for nearly 35,000.000 working days. It is reckoned that the value of Italian labour in the Empire has already reached 1,400,000,000 lires.

Up to the end of September 1936 these workers have sent remittances to their families, by postal order or by bank cheque for upwards of 500,000,000 lires that is about 36 per cent. of the total wages earned.

The work carried out on behalf of the workers on their return from Africa has also been remarkable, and no less than 221 officials of the Commissariat have been present to render assistance at the time of landing.

Assistance work for the benefit of workers now in East Africa, including the services rendered by the agents appointed for the Empire, has likewise been on a considerable scale.

After Deputy Nannini's report Mussolini began the work of awarding premiums, handing personally to each head of a family an envelope containing a thousand lires. When this ceremony was concluded the *Duce* addressed the settlers, exhorting them to remain faithful to the land and bidding the young people marry. This he urged on the ground that, above and beyond the lands which are in process of reclamation in Italy, there are vast areas of land in the Empire that are awaiting the plough driven by the hands of Italian settlers. In conclusion the Head of the Government invited the settlers to visit the mighty capital of Greater Italy, and ever to bear in mind that in Rome there is established a Government which has the destinies of the Italian rural classes always at heart.—*News Notes on Fascist Corporations* (Rome).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HOCKING.

✓ Hocking's political philosophy is hostile to all sorts of determinism, economic or otherwise, according to which the affairs of the world are hopelessly at the mercy of the conflict of interests. In the second place, it rules out of order all pragmatic systems of thought such as consider morals and manners to be merely relative to time and place. On the other hand, Hocking has profound faith in the possibility of an ethical understanding among men and of well-founded international law. And finally Hocking's philosophy of politics condemns the conception that government is independent of ethics and general culture (*The Spirit of World Politics*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1932, p. viii).

In regard to the " capitulations " and exterritoriality clauses of treaties obtaining at one time or other in Turkey, Japan, Siam and China Hocking doubts whether the West could say that these measures had not been habitually used to protect Western criminals in oriental trade from receiving the punishments which oriental law would have given them (*S.W.P.*, p. 15).

✓ The differences between the East and West, in so far as they exist, are simply the contrasts between to-day and yesterday in Europe. Hocking is convinced that in many of its most striking peculiarities the Orient is nothing but medieval exhibiting the features of European feudalism (*S. W. P.*, p. 20).

Hocking propagates the philosophy which can recognize the common, universal, necessary element in our human standards of judgment. This is according to him the only philosophy which can sustain any international understanding or undertaking or law.[1] He would accordingly abolish the idle, self-indulgent and sinister superstition that the point of view of the Oriental is wholly different from that of the Western." (*S.W.P.*, pp. 21-22).

The aim of Hocking's political speculation consists in disentangling the right from the wrong in the theory of self-determination and in the policy of expansion which curbs it. This he considers to be the most pressing problem of the present world-order. Illustrations are offered from the situation created in the Near East on account of the " new impulse of self-propagation " with which the West has been seized (*S. W. P.*, pp. 37-38).

According to Hocking the " independent voter " in not much in evidence in rural Egypt. But he is careful enough to point out at once that the " independent voter " is not in evidence elsewhere on the planet either (*S. W. P.*, p. 65). As parliamentarian, the Egyptian seems much like other parliamentarians and partisans (p. 67).

Hocking does not accept the proposition that moral strength is a " problem of climate " or that a particular social habit is a racial quality, fixed in the blood " (*S. W. P.*, pp. 67, 74). No matter what be the climate and what the race he is therefore convinced about Egypt's capacity for self-government.

The philosopher abroad has produced a book of travels. It is descriptive, factual, realistic and historical, Interpretations of facts and comments as well as criticisms of opinions entertained by others constitute an important feature of this travel-book.

Every state is conceived by Hocking as being an " experiment in living." The histories of state-governments are histories of individual experiments in living which have their own continuity. And since " no one of these can substitute for any other " it follows that the " ideal of a single all-inclusive world-state is a false ideal." (*S. P. W.*, pp. 165, 168.)

"How many nation-states should there be ?" asks Hocking. "At least as many as there are significantly different experiments in living " is the answer. The " presence of a marked and significant uniqueness of character " is the only justification for a new nation-state in this philosophy (*S. P. W.*, p. 169).

Hocking is a mystic in his conception of nationaliity. " Community of life and of conscience " as understood by Vico in 1725 is accepted by Hocking as the substantive national fact (*S. W. P.*, p. 169). But his positivism is no less marked.

According[1] to Hocking " nations are not everlasting but makable " (p. 162). He considers that race which is an element in the nation is also a highly plastic factor. The race is as much an effect as it is a cause and can be brought about by time, place and common history (p. 175). Among the agencies by which any human ingredients can be made into a nation is the state (p. 182).

---

[1] See the present author's *Futurism of Young Asia* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 21-22

Weltbuergertum or world-citizenship such as Kant foresaw in *Jum ewigen Frieden* (Towards Eternal Peace, 1794) is considered to be a reality at the present moment. But " human beings continue to think *regionally*. The vast increase in internationalism has failed to obliterate but simply confirmed the separateness of nations (pp. 190-192). One of Hocking's postulates is thus worded: " Under normal circumstances we should not require any nation to show cause why it should be free " (p. 201). The tragedy or rather irony of a subject race in world politics is described as follows: " When subjugation is a *fait accompli* and you appear to have placed upon the subject people the burden of proving itself fit for independence, it is easy to set up wholly rational list of conditions to be fulfilled,—an examination such as the examiner himself might find it a tight squeeze to pass ! " He does not believe that there can be stable equilibrium in the world until the nation and the free state coincide (p. 202).

Hocking's realism is of a robust type. His philosophical analysis is objective enough to recognize that " contemporary statecraft is full of inventions." Some of these are to be found in the " available alternatives to independence." " Part-sovereignty " is a reality of to-day, and this also admits of innumerable shades " (p. 221). The " mandate idea " is according to him radically different from the colonial idea (p. 231).

In the case of the mandates the sovereignty belongs not to the mandatory powers but to " civilization as a whole." In the mandate of Syria, for instance, it is the " West in general " that is present as agents of civilization, and France is but a representative of these agents (p. 237). All the same, Syria has been converted into a veritable French colony, as he believes. And in his judgment " the level of civilization in Syria is far too high to have imposed upon it, at this date in the world's history, an undesired European servitude." The revolt of Syria, therefore, he considers to be " wholly justified " (p. 992),

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

---

[1] See the discussion on the " positive theory of nation-making " in the present author's *Politics of Boundaries*) Calcutta 1928), pp. 11-18.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. II. Suvarnadvipa, Part I. Political History: by Dr. R, C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca, 1937.

In this volume covering 436 pages Dr. Majumdar, who has already done much to illumine the dark pages of the history of Hindu expansion in Trans-Gangetic lands, deals with the political and administrative history of Suvarnadvipa, or the Isle of Gold. by which name the ancients understood the massive islands of the Dutch Indies that lie scattered off the coast of the Malay Peninsula, together with some adjacent tracts. The author has collected a vast mass of material from several sources, literary as well as epigraphic, Indian, Classical, Arab, Chinese as well as Malaysian, and has thrown welcome light not only on the history but also on the geography of the fascinating realms of the *Ho-lo-tan* Varmans and the Sailendras, that were once so well known to the navigators sailing from the Bengali port of Tamluk in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the statesmen who presided over the destinies of Bengal and South India in the ninth and succeeding centuries.

The volume before us is divided into four parts. In the opening chapters the author describes the land and the people of Malaysia, discusses the exact denotation of the term Suvarnadvipa, and gives an account of its civilisation both before and after its contact with Hindu culture. He then narrates the history of the empire of the Sailendras with special reference to the struggles of these mighty rulers with the equally powerful Cholas of the Far South of India. We have next an account of the vicissitudes through which the Indo-Javanese empire passed in times long gone by. This is followed by the story of the passing away of Hindu rule in Malaysia. The volume concludes with an interesting account of "political theory and public administration" in Java. The utility of the work is enhanced by some good maps. None can fail to be struck with the painstaking industry critical acumen and constructive ability the author has shown in piecing together the scraps of information that are available to the geographer and the historian of the almost forgotten realms of Sri-Vishaya and ancient Yavadvipa. In the present state of our knowledge one has at times to grope in the dark and propound views that may have to be modified when ampler materials are available. But we have no doubt that this 'pioneer work' of Dr. Majumdar will stimulate discussion of the subject and help in the resuscitation of the history of that vast region of South-east Asia whose contact with India, if tradition is to be believed, dates back to the time of the Imperial Mauryas.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

Hindu Civilisation: by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., Price 15s net.

Professor Mookerji's book deals with a subject which, as he himself points out, is, for the period covered by it, "necessarily somewhat nebulous, indefinite, and, sometimes speculative." The difficulties that confront the critical historian of the pre-Maurya period are almost insuperable. The author has faced his task with courage and has made an attempt to 'give, body and form, flesh and blood, to the dry skeleton of history.' He has laid under contribution the usual sources of information, and has availed himself of the results of specialised studies in the subject of his choice. The opening chapter contains observations of a general character on history as a branch of knowledge. The author then deals with pre-historic India. He draws pointed attention to the Indus civilisation of the third millennium B.C., and lays stress on the fundamental unity of the vast sub-continent to the south of the Himalayas with its teeming millions and countless languages and creeds. We have next an account of the political and cultural life of pre-Mauryan India as reflected in the Vedic hymns and the later theological, grammatical and ritualistic treatises as well as in that storehouse of ancient lore which goes by the name of *Itihāsa-Purāṇa.* The concluding chapter deals with the great states, republican as well as monarchical, of Northern India that flourished in the days of nascent Buddhism and Jainism, and those early invasions from Iran and Hellas which, reacting on internal politics, promoted a cohesion within, that made the dream of a united India almost a reality in the fourth century B.C. The author is conscious of the highly controversial character of some of the topics treated in the volume. Even the reader who finds it difficult to endorse certain opinions expressed in the work, must bear witness to the vast amount of study that the author has devoted to his subject, and the lucid manner in which he has presented some of the most intricate problems of ancient Indian history.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The New Menace to High School Education in Bengal, by Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L., with a Foreword by Sir P. C. Roy-Kt. (Calcutta Fine Arts Press, pp. 127.)

This little brochure is a searching examination of the official position regarding the existing system of high school education in Bengal. The inchoate policy of the Government is gathered by the author from official memoranda, reports and views expressed at educational conferences. Reduction of the number of high schools in Bengal from twelve hundred to four hundred. separation of middle English classes from high schools, the policy of encouraging high school students to reside away from home in hostels necessitated by the abolition of many local schools, the official cry against private management of schools and finally the charge of inefficiency and low standard of expenditure in privately managed institutions are subjected to close scrutiny. The last part of the book is a critical analysis of the present system of secondary education in the province, Thus on the one hand the author defends the present high schools of Bengal against "official attack," on the other he ruthlessly lays bare what appears to him to be the real defects of such institutions.

The problem of secondary education is as vast as it is complex. The complexity of the problem in Bengal is emphasised by the financial embarrassment of the provincial government and a lack of a consistent and organic policy embracing the four stages of education—primary, middle, secondary and higher. Overwhelmed by the lack of adequate finance and unprovided by a comprehensive plan, the educational authorities have been seeking short cuts to reform. The author draws the attention of all concerned to the danger of such short cuts.

It is argued that reduction in the number of schools would seriously curtail the opportunity of education, the dissociation of middle classes from high schools would deprive the majority of the pupils of the opportunity to pass easily from the middle stage to the higher stage, and the hostel system of which an extensive use will have to be made on account of the abolition of many schools will divorce the boys from their "natural environment rooted in their home and family." The comparative inefficiency of the schools is, according to the author, largely due to the excess of governmental control or lack of adequate financial assistance from the public treasury. Further, Mr. Chaudeuri suspects that there is a political motive in the anxiety on the part of the government to control the high schools of Bengal.

Among the serious defects of the schools of the province the author mentions the following: lack of sufficient funds, absence of a "continuity of policy in the administration of secondary education," foreign medium of instruction ; failure of the system of education to enrich sentiments and widen outlook and sympathies; utter indifference of the system to our life and surroundings; neglect of ethical training and entire omission of religious instruction. Inspite of these defects the author justly regards the system of secondary education in the province as a matter of pride for Bengal and a "monument of great, voluntary effort and sacrifice on the part of the people." The author hopes that proper financial assistance form the state, freedom in the management of institutions, improvement in the curricula and closer co-operation of the guardians and teachers with a view to remedy the real defects of the institutions will bring the system of secondary education near perfection.

The study is a well-documented one. References are made to the works of distinguished educationists like Tagore, Wells and Bertand Russel, Mayhew and Gurudass Banerjee. The reports of the Sadler Commission, Hartog Committee and official publications are ransacked for arguments. The systems of technical education in England and America are examined th prove the thesis that secondary education is an essential foundation for vocational and technical training. Therefore such training should be taken advantage of by the boys after they have passed the Matriculation examination. In this matter the author joins issue with the Hartog Committee who are of opinion that the highest form of the middle stage should be made the great clearing house."

A good deal of the effectiveness of the brochure is diminished by the propagandist and journalistic style of writing. The only doubtful justification for induigence in such style seems to be that the majority of the chapters of the book were published in a daily newspaper. It may be pointed out that a more dispassionate statement of the author's case would considerably add to the value and usefulness of the book which bears unmistakable evidence of wide study and mature thought.

N. C. BHATTACHARYYA

Ourselves

[I. Annual Convocation.—II. Senate's Condolence.—III. Mr. Justice Biswas.—IV. Jubilee Research Prize in Scientific Subjects for 1936.—V. Lectures on Vocational Guidance at the University —VI. New Appointment.—VII. New Fellows.—VIII. University Representatives on the Bangīya Sāhitya Sammilan.—IX. A New Ph.D.—X. A New D Sc.—XI. Extension of Affiliation for Ripon College.—XII. Dates of D P.H. and M.O. Examinations.—XIII. Results of Law Examinations, January, 1937.—XIV. Notification.]

I. ANNUAL CONVOCATION.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather the Annual Convocation had to be held on Wednesday the 17th February instead of on Saturday the 13th, as previously announced. The attendance was larger perhaps on account of the new departure made in this year's programme. For the first time in the history of the University, its graduates, thanks to the initiative taken in that behalf by the Vice-Chancellor, availed of the option to attend the function in Indian dress worn under the academic costume. Another attraction was Rabindranath, who had been invited to address the gathering and who spoke in Bengali,—an altogether new feature in this year's function. His inspiring address and those of His Excellency the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor, which are reproduced in this issue of the REVIEW, will, we are sure, be read with profit.

* * *

II. SENATE'S CONDOLENCE.

We are deeply grieved to learn of the deaths of Sir Bhupendanath Mitra, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.A., late High Commissioner for India, Mr. K. L. Datta, M.A., sometime Registrar of this University, and Dewan Bahadur Ananta Krishna Iyer, formerly head of the Post-Graduate Anthropology Department. The Senate at its meeting held on Saturday the 27th February expressed its condolence at their demise, when our Vice-Chancellor, paying tribute to the memory of the departed ones, dwelt at some length on the virtues which had made them great.

Although, said the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Bhupendranath was not directly connected with this University, he occupied a very prominent place in the public life of the country and he was recognised as a very capable and distinguished administrator who adorned various

Vandyk
London

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE BISWAS

offices under the Crown. His career in a sense was a romantic one. He had always a very soft corner in his heart for his province and for this University, which came in intimate touch with him when he held the position of High Commissioner for India in London. As a matter of fact, for the present arrangement by which it was possible for the University to obtain previous information regarding facilities for advanced studies and research that might be available to the students of the University at foreign universities, the Calcutta University was immensely thankful to Sir Bhupendranath who took it up when he was High Commissioner for India in London. The University would remain ever grateful to Sir Bhupendranath for the infinite courtesy and help which it received from him regarding accommodation of many of its students in foreign universities. It was indeed a tragedy that he should have come back to his native province after many years spent in other parts of India and abroad, only to bid final good-bye to his beloved province.

Mr. K. L. Datta, formerly Accountant General, Madras, worked as Registrar of this University for a couple of years about 16 years ago. Mr. Datta was also a Fellow of this University for five years. The University would always remember him as an efficient Registrar who was responsible for introducing many new methods in the work of administration, which even after the lapse of 16 years were followed in several Departments of the University.

Dewan Bahadur Anantakrishna Iyer was for eleven years connected with the Anthropology Department of the University, of which he was the head for six years. He was a distinguished Anthropologist and he wrote many valuable books in his subject such as *The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Anthropology of the Syrian Christians, The Mysore Tribes and Castes.*

* * *

III. MR. JUSTICE BISWAS.

We heartily congratulate Mr. C. C. Biswas, M.A., B.L., C.I.E., on his elevation to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. He has been a Fellow of this University and a Syndic for over two decades. He was also on the Teaching Staff of the University Law College. In the debates of the Senate and the deliberations of the Syndicate and the various boards and committees of which he is a member, he has distinguished himself by his quick grasp of the point at issue, by his subtle logic and by his thorough command of English. With a brilliant and unique career at the University, he has maintained the high ideal of the educationist in his manifold activities after graduation. His legal acumen, his wide experience of public life, his rare understanding of the educational problems of the country has made him a leader in many a keen controversy. That such a man should be selected for the exalted office of a Judge of the High Court is admitted on all hands. Though the recognition is somewhat belated, we are glad to find that it has not been too late, and we felicitate Mr. Justice Biswas on the distinction which he has attained by sheer merit. To us the occasion is specially significant as he has long been associated with this journal as a member of its Board of Editors.

* * *

IV. JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENTIFIC SUBJECTS FOR 1936.

The Jubilee Research Prize in scientific subjects for the year 1936 has been awarded to Mr. Nisikanta Roy, B.A. Mr. Roy, who is Bacteriologist in the Public Health Department, Government of Bengal, submitted a very interesting thesis on "How to plan a balanced diet (for Bengalis)." The thesis is based on modern knowledge of what constitutes an efficient diet, on the traditional food of the people and on economic consideration. Any original contribution to our knowledge of the subject is welcome especially because Bengal stands to-day in urgent need of vigorous men, and this is possible only through a radical change in the current dietetics, which, unfortunately, has given the go-by to traditional and economic considerations.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Roy on his success.

* * *

V. LECTURES ON VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY.

We are glad to announce that arrangements are being made with the Calcutta Rotary Club for lectures on industrial and commercial subjects to be delivered at the University by members of the Club. Dr. P. Niyogi, M.A., PH.D., Secretary, Vocational Guidance Sub-Committee, of the said club has been in communication with our Vice-Chancellor on the subject. Meanwhile Prof. J. P. Niyogi has been requested to draw up a scheme of lectures to be delivered this year. It is understood that for general convenience the lectures, which may be delivered weekly, will commence not earlier than 6 P.M.

The importance of vocational guidance cannot be over-estimated. We have had too much of theory and very little of practice so far. It will really be a boon to those preparing to launch on life's struggle to have such valuable guidance from experienced businessmen of the Rotary Club as the University is going to make available through the good offices of our Vice-Chancellor and Dr. P. Niyogi. The thanks of those who are bound to be benefited will be due in no uncertain measure to these two gentlemen and to the institutions of which they are members, not to speak of the lecturers who have kindly offered their services in this behalf.

* * *

VI. NEW APPOINTMENT.

The Senate, at their meeting held on Saturday the 27th February last appointed, subject to the approval of Government, Mr. Kshitishprasad Chatterjee, M.A., as a whole-time lecturer in the department of Anthropology for a period of two years for the present. Mr. Chatterjee, who is Education Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, took his Bachelor's Degree in Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. Coming as he does to succeed the late Dr. Panchanan Mitra, who with rare industry and enthusiasm had maintained the dignity of the department, Mr. Chatterjee, let us hope, will lead it from progress to progress as long as he will be in charge of Anthropological studies in this University.

* * *

VII. NEW FELLOWS.

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Dr. Syed Hidayetullah, M.SC., PH.D., and Rev. Father A. Verstraeten, S.J., to be Ordinary Fellows of the University *vice* Mr. A. F. M.

Abdul Ali and Rev. Father M. Vermeire, S.J., respectively. The new Fellows have been attached to the Faculty of Science.

Mr. Satishchandra Ray, M.A. (LOND)., I.E.S., Dr. Rameshchandra Majumdar, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, and Maulvi Ebrahim Khan, M.A., B.L., have also been nominated, and Khan Bahadur Maulvi Alfaz-ud-din Ahmed, M.A., and Dr. Muhammad Qudrat-i-Khuda, D.SC. (LOND.), D.I.C., renominated, to be Ordinary Fellows by His Excellency, the Chancellor.

We extend a hearty welcome to them.

* * *

VIII. UNIVERSITY REPRESENTATIVES ON THE BANGIYA SĀHITYA SAMMILAN.

We are glad to announce that Prof. Khagendranath Mitra and Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji have been appointed representatives of the University at the 20th session of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan at Chandernagore.

* * *

IX. A NEW PH.D.

We congratulate Mr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., P.R.S., on his being admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of this University on a thesis entitled "Historical Syntax of Indo-Aryan," which was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Dr. L. D. Barnett, Prof. Jules Bloch and Prof. R. L. Turner.

Dr. Sen, though young, enjoys a great reputation as a scholar, and specially as a philologist. He is now on the teaching staff of the Post-Graduate Department. His extensive study in the field of Comparative Philology and in that of Bengali Language and Literature, as reflected in his works, *Use of the Cases in Vedic Prose*, *Bāṅgālā Sāhitye Gadya* and *A History of Brajabuli Literature*, already marked him out as a competent scholar, and now to crown his labours the distinction of a Doctorate of Philosophy invests him with added grace and honour. We heartily congratulate Dr. Sen on his well-earned Degree.

* * *

X. A NEW D.Sc.

We congratulate Mr. Satyacharan Chatterjee, M.SC., on his being admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science of this University. Dr. Chatterjee's thesis entitled "The Anorthosites of Bengal" was adjudicated upon by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir Thomas Holland, KT., F.R.S., Dr. Norman L. Bowen and Dr. Robert Balk.

* * *

XI. EXTENSION OF AFFILIATION FOR RIPON COLLEGE.

In extension of the affiliation already enjoyed by it, the Ripon College has been further affiliated in History to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1937-38.

* * *

XII. DATES OF D.P.H. AND M.O. EXAMINATIONS.

The following dates have been fixed as the commencing dates for the D.P.H. and M. O. Examinations :—

D. P. H. Examinations ...	Part I	— 5th May, 1937.
	Part II	— 26th May, 1937.
M. O. Examination for the year 1936 ...	9th March, 1937.	

* * *

XIII. RESULTS OF LAW EXAMINATIONS, JANUARY, 1937.

The results of the Preliminary and Intermediate Examinations in Law held in January last have been reported as follows :—

Preliminary Examination in Law.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 499, of whom 35 were absent.

The number of candidates who actually sat for the examination was 464, of whom 301 passed and 163 failed.

Of the successful candidates 19 were placed in the First Division and 282 in the Second.

The percentage of pass is 64·87.

Intermediate Examination in Law.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 318, of whom 24 were absent.

The number candidates who actually sat for the examination was 294, of whom 231 passed and 63 failed.

Of the successful candidates 17 were placed in the First Division and 214 in the Second.

The percentage of pass is 78·57.

* * *

XIV. NOTIFICATION.

We have been asked to publish the following:—

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

NUFFIELD PROFESSORSHIP OF CLINICAL MEDICINE.

NUFFIELD PROFESSORSHIP OF OBSTETRICS AND GYNAECOLOGY.

The Electors invite applications for the above Professorships.

Candidates' who must hold a medical qualificatien registrable in Great Britain, are requested to send eight copies of their application and of not more than three testimonials to the Registrar of the University, by 17th April, 1937, and to state on what date, not being earlier than 1st October 1937 they can enter upon their duties.

The salary of the Professors will be £2,000 per annum. A non-stipendiary Professorial Fellowship at one of the Colleges is attached to each Professorship.

The choice of the Electors will not be limited to those who apply.

Full particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, University Registry, Oxford.

BODEN PROFESSORSHIP OF SANSKRIT

The Electors to this professorship propose shortly to proceed to an election of a professor in the place of F. W. Thomas, M.A., Fellow of Balliol college, whose period of office will expire on 31st July, 1937, Candidates are requested to send in their names, with eight copies of any statement, references, and testimonials that they may think desirable to submit, so as to reach the Registrar not later than Saturday, 17th April 1937. Candidates are to state the earliest date on which they could take up their duties.

The choice of the Electors will not necessarily be limited to those who apply.

The stipend of the Professorship will be £1,103 a year. A non-stipendiary Professorial Fellowship at Balliol College is attached to the Professorship.

SUMMER TRAINING CLASS FOR LIBRARIANS

Necessary arrangements have now been made by the Bengal Library Association to open the first Summer Training class for Librarians at the Ashutosh College, Bhowanipur, for a month from the 1st May next. 25 students should be admitted in the class, who should be at least Matriculates ; preference would be given to those who are actually in the library service. The curriculum of studies would include: Classification, Cataloguing, Library Routine and Administration as compulsory subjects ; Book selection, Bibliography ; Aides to readers, Current Library Information, Library work with children, Modern Library movement as Additional subjects ; Classification and cataloguing of books, visit to libraries, printing presses, paper mills, binderies, etc., as practical work. Theoretical classes would be conducted for 2 hours in the morning and 1 hour in the evening. Practical work would be done for 4 hours during the intervening period. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D., DIP.L.S. (Lond)., Acting Librarian, Calcutta University is the Hony. Director of the class and the Secretray of the Library Training Committee of which Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah, F.L.A., is the Chairman.

Necessary information regarding the class may be obtained from Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy, the Hony. Director of the class, Calcutta University Library, Mr. T. C. Dutta, the Hony. General Secretary of the Association, P. O. Lillooah, District Howrah, Mr. Prafulla Nath Mukherjee, Hony. Treasurer of the Association, Imperial Library, Calcutta, or Mr. Pulin Behari Chatterjee, Librarian, Asutosh College, Bhowanipur.

An admission fee of Rupees Eight would be charged from the members of the Association and Rupees Ten from others.

* * *

কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পদবী-সম্মান-বিতরণের বার্ষিক অনুষ্ঠানে আজ আমি আহূত। আমার জীর্ণ শরীরের অপটুতা এই দায়িত্বভার গ্রহণের প্রতিকূল ছিল। কিন্তু অদ্যকার একটি বিশেষ গৌরবের উপলক্ষ আমাকে সমস্ত বাধার উপর দিয়ে আকর্ষণ করে এনেছে। আজ বাংলাদেশের প্রথমতম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় আপন ছাত্রদের মাঙ্গল্য-বিধানের শুভকর্মে বাংলার বাণীকে বিদ্যামন্দিরের উচ্চ বেদীতে বরণ করেছেন। বহুদিনের শূন্য আসনের অকল্যাণ আজ দূর হোলো।

দুর্ভাগ্য দিনের সকলের চেয়ে দুঃসহ লক্ষণ এই যে সেই দিনে স্বতঃস্বীকার্য্য সত্যকেও বিরোধের কণ্ঠে জানাতে হয়। এদেশে অনেক কাল জানিয়ে আসতে হয়েছে যে, পরভাষার মধ্য দিয়ে পরিশ্রুত শিক্ষায় বিদ্যার প্রাণীন পদার্থ নষ্ট হয়ে যায়।

ভারতবর্ষ ছাড়া পৃথিবীর অন্য কোনো দেশেই শিক্ষার ভাষা এবং শিক্ষার্থীর ভাষার মধ্যে আত্মীয়তাবিচ্ছেদের অস্বাভাবিকতা দেখা যায় না। য়ুরোপীয় বিদ্যায় জাপানের দীক্ষা এক শতাব্দীও পার হয়নি। তার বিদ্যারম্ভের প্রথম সূচনায় শিক্ষণীয় বিষয়গুলি অগত্যা বিদেশী ভাষাকে আশ্রয় করতে বাধ্য হয়েছিল। কিন্তু প্রথম থেকেই শিক্ষাবিধির একান্ত লক্ষ্য ছিল স্বদেশী ভাষার অধিকারে স্বাধীন সঞ্চরণ লাভ করা। কেননা যে-বিদ্যাকে আধুনিক জাপান অভ্যর্থনা করেছিল সে কেবলমাত্র বিশেষ সুযোগপ্রাপ্ত সঙ্কীর্ণ শ্রেণীবিশেষের অলঙ্কার-

প্রসাধনের সামগ্রী ব'লেই আদরণীয় হয়নি, নির্বিশেষে সমগ্র মহাজাতিকেই শক্তি দেবে শ্রী দেবে ব'লেই ছিল তার আমন্ত্রণ। এই জন্যই এই শিক্ষার সর্বজনগম্যতা ছিল অত্যাবশ্যক। যে শিক্ষা ঈর্ষাপরায়ণ শক্তিশালী জাতিদের দস্যুবৃত্তি থেকে জাপানকে আত্মরক্ষায় সামর্থ্য দেবে, যে শিক্ষা নগণ্যতা থেকে উদ্ধার ক'রে মানবের মহাসভায় তাকে সম্মানের অধিকারী করবে সেই শিক্ষার প্রসারসাধন-চেষ্টায় অর্থে বা অধ্যবসায়ে সে লেশমাত্র কৃপণতা করেনি। সকলের চেয়ে অনর্থকর কৃপণতা বিদ্যাকে বিদেশী ভাষার অন্তরালে দূরত্ব দান করা,—ফসলের বড়ো মাঠকে বাইরে শুকিয়ে রেখে টবের গাছকে আঙিনায় এনে জলসেচন করা। দীর্ঘকাল ধ'রে আমাদের প্রতি ভাগ্যের এই অবজ্ঞা আমরা সহজেই স্বীকার ক'রে এসেছি। নিজের সম্বন্ধে অশ্রদ্ধা শিরোধার্য করতে অভ্যস্ত হয়েছি, জেনেছি যে, সম্মুখবর্তী কয়েকটি মাত্র জনবিরল পঙ্‌ক্তিতে ছোটো হাতার মাপে ব্যয়কুণ্ঠ পরিবেষণকেই বলে দেশের এডুকেশন। বিদ্যাদানের এই অকিঞ্চিৎকরত্বকে পেরিয়ে যেতে পারে শিক্ষার এমন ঔদার্যের কথা ভাবতেই আমাদের সাহস হয়নি, যেমন সাহারা-মরুবাসী বেদুয়িনরা ভাবতেই সাহস পায় না যে, দূরবিক্ষিপ্ত কয়েকটি ক্ষুদ্র ওয়েসিসের বাইরে ব্যাপক সফলতায় তাদের ভাগ্যের সম্মতি থাকতে পারে। আমাদের দেশে শিক্ষা ও অশিক্ষার মধ্যে যে প্রভেদ সে ঐ সাহারা ও ওয়েসিসেরই মতো, অর্থাৎ পরিমাণগত ভেদ এবং জাতিগত ভেদ। আমাদের দেশের রাষ্ট্রশাসন এক, কিন্তু শিক্ষার সঙ্কোচবশত চিত্তশাসন এক হোতে পারেনি। বর্তমানকালে চীন জাপান পারস্য আরব তুরস্কে প্রাচ্য-জাতীয়দের মধ্যে

৩

সর্বত্র এই ব্যর্থতাজনক আত্মবিচ্ছিন্নতার প্রতিকার হয়েছে, হয়নি কেবলমাত্র আমাদেরই দেশে।

প্রাণীবিবরণে দেখা যায় এক জাতীয় জীব আছে যারা পরাসক্ত হয়ে জন্মায়, পরাসক্ত হয়েই মরে। পরের অঙ্গীভূত হয়ে কেবল প্রাণধারণমাত্রে তাদের বাধা ঘটে না, কিন্তু নিজের অঙ্গপ্রত্যঙ্গের পরিণতি ও ব্যবহারে তারা চিরদিনই থাকে পঙ্গু হয়ে। আমাদের বিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষা সেই জাতীয়। আরম্ভ থেকেই এই শিক্ষা বিদেশী ভাষার আশ্রয়ে পরজীবী। একেবারেই যে তার পোষণ হয় না তা নয় কিন্তু তার পূর্ণতা হওয়া অসাধ্য। আত্মশক্তি-ব্যবহারে সে যে পঙ্গু হয়ে আছে সে কথা সে আপনি অনুভব করতেও অক্ষম হয়ে পড়েছে কেননা ঋণ ক'রে তার দিন চলে যায়। গৌরব বোধ করে এই ঋণলাভের পরিমাণ হিসাব ক'রে। মহাজন-মহলে সে দাসখৎ লিখিয়ে দিয়েছে। যারা এই শিক্ষায় পার হোলো তারা যা ভোগ করে তা উৎপন্ন করে না। পরের ভাষায় পরের বুদ্ধিদ্বারা চিন্তিত বিষয়ের প্রশ্রয় পেয়ে স্বাভাবিক প্রণালীতে নিজে চিন্তা করবার, বিশ্লেষণ ও সংশ্লেষণ করবার আন্তরিক প্রেরণা ও সাহস তাদের দুর্বল হয়ে আসে। পরের কথিত বাণীর আবৃত্তি যতই যন্ত্রের মতো অবিকল হয় ততই তারা পরীক্ষায় কৃতার্থ হবার অধিকারী ব'লে গণ্য হোতে থাকে। বলা বাহুল্য যে, পরাসক্ত মনকে এই চিরদৈন্য থেকে মুক্ত করবার একটা প্রধান উপায়, শিক্ষণীয় বিষয়কে শিশুকাল থেকে নিজের ভাষার ভিতর দিয়ে গ্রহণ করা ও প্রয়োগ করার চর্চা। কে না জানে আহার্যকে আপন প্রাণের সামগ্রী ক'রে নেবার উপায় হচ্চে ভোজ্যকে নিজের দাঁত দিয়ে চিবিয়ে নিজের রসনার রসে জারিয়ে নেওয়া।

এ প্রসঙ্গে এ কথা স্বীকার করা চাই যে, আমাদের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে ইংরেজি ভাষার সম্মানের আসন বিচলিত হোতে পারবে না। তার কারণ এ নয় যে, বর্তমান অবস্থায় আমাদের জীবনযাত্রায় তার প্রয়োজনীয়তা অপরিহার্য। আজকের দিনে য়ুরোপের জ্ঞানবিজ্ঞান সমস্ত মানবলোকের শ্রদ্ধা অধিকার করেছে; স্বাজাত্যের অভিমানে এ কথা অস্বীকার করলে অকল্যাণ। আর্থিক ও রাষ্ট্রিক ক্ষেত্রে আত্মরক্ষার পক্ষে এই শিক্ষার যেমন প্রয়োজন তেমনি মনকে ও ব্যবহারকে মূঢ়তামুক্ত করবার জন্য তার প্রভাব মূল্যবান্। যে চিত্ত এই প্রভাবকে প্রতিরোধ করে, এ'কে অঙ্গীকার ক'রে নিতে অক্ষম হয়, সে আপন সঙ্কীর্ণ সীমাবদ্ধ নিরালোক জীবযাত্রায় ক্ষীণজীবী হয়ে থাকে। যে জ্ঞানের জ্যোতি চিরন্তন তা যে-কোনো দিগন্ত থেকেই বিকীর্ণ হোক অপরিচিত ব'লে তাকে বাধা দেয় বর্বরতার অস্বচ্ছ মন। সত্যের প্রকাশ-মাত্রই জাতি-বর্ণ-নির্বিশেষে সকল মানুষের অধিকারগম্য; এই অধিকার মনুষ্যত্বের সহজাত অধিকারেরই অঙ্গ। রাষ্ট্রগত বা ব্যক্তিগত বিষয়-সম্পদে মানুষের পার্থক্য অনিবার্য কিন্তু চিত্ত-সম্পদের দানসত্রে সর্বদেশে সর্বকালে মানুষ এক। সেখানে দান করবার দাক্ষিণ্যেই দাতা ধন্য ও গ্রহণ করবার শক্তি-দ্বারাই গ্রহীতার আত্মসম্মান। সকল দেশেই অর্থভাণ্ডারের দ্বারে কড়া পাহারা, কিন্তু বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের জ্ঞানভাণ্ডারে সর্বমানবের ঐক্যের দ্বার অর্গলবিহীন। লক্ষ্মী কৃপণ, কারণ লক্ষ্মীর সঞ্চয় সংখ্যাগণিতের সীমায় আবদ্ধ, ব্যয়ের দ্বারা তার ক্ষয় হোতে থাকে; সরস্বতী অকৃপণ, কেননা সংখ্যার পরিমাপে তাঁর ঐশ্বর্যের পরিমাপ নয়, দানের দ্বারা তার বৃদ্ধিই ঘটে। বোধ করি, বিশেষভাবে বাংলাদেশের এই গৌরব করবার কারণ আছে যে,

য়ুরোপীয় সংস্কৃতির কাছ থেকে সে আপন প্রাপ্য গ্রহণ করতে বিলম্ব করেনি। এই সংস্কৃতির বাধাহীন সংস্পর্শে অতি অল্পকালের মধ্যে তার সাহিত্য প্রচুর শক্তি ও সম্পদ্ লাভ করেছে, এ কথা সকলের স্বীকৃত। এই প্রভাবের প্রধান সার্থকতা এই দেখেছি যে, অনুকরণের দুর্বল প্রবৃত্তিকে কাটিয়ে ওঠবার উৎসাহ সে প্রথম থেকে দিয়েছে। আমাদের দেশে ইংরেজি শিক্ষার প্রথম যুগে যাঁরা বিদ্বান্ ব'লে গণ্য ছিলেন তাঁরা যদিচ পড়াশুনোয় চিঠিপত্রে কথাবার্তায় একান্তভাবেই ইংরেজি ভাষা ব্যবহারে অভ্যস্ত হয়েছিলেন, যদিচ তখনকার ইংরেজি-শিক্ষিত চিত্তে চিন্তার ঐশ্বর্য, ভাবরসের আয়োজন মুখ্যত ইংরেজি প্রেরণা থেকেই উদ্ভাবিত, তবু সেদিনকার বাঙালি লেখকেরা এই কথাটি অচিরে অনুভব করেছিলেন যে, দূরদেশি ভাষার থেকে আমরা বাতির আলো সংগ্রহ করতে পারি মাত্র, কিন্তু আত্মপ্রকাশের জন্য প্রভাত-আলো বিকীর্ণ হয় আপন ভাষায়। পরভাষার মদগর্বে আত্মবিস্মৃতির দিনে এই সহজ কথার নূতন আবিষ্কৃতির দুটি উজ্জ্বল দৃষ্টান্ত দেখেছি আমাদের নবসাহিত্য-সৃষ্টির উপক্রমেই। ইংরেজি ভাষায় ও সাহিত্যে মাইকেলের অধিকার ছিল প্রশস্ত, অনুরাগ ছিল সুগভীর। সেই সঙ্গে গ্রীক লাটিন আয়ত্ত ক'রে য়ুরোপীয় সাহিত্যের অমরাবতীতে তিনি আমন্ত্রিত হয়েছেন ও তৃপ্ত হয়েছেন সেখানকার অমৃতরস-ভোগে। স্বভাবতই প্রথমে তাঁর মন গিয়েছিল ইংরেজি ভাষায় কাব্য রচনা করতে। কিন্তু এ কথা বুঝতে তাঁর বিলম্ব হয়নি যে, ধার-করা ভাষায় সুদ দিতে হয় অত্যধিক, তার উদ্বৃত্ত থাকে অতি সামান্য। তিনি প্রথমেই মাতৃভাষায় এমন একটি কাব্যের আবাহন করলেন যে-কাব্যে স্খলিতগতি প্রথম-পদচারণার ভীরু

সতর্কতা নেই। এই কাব্যে বাহিরের গঠনে আছে বিদেশী আদর্শ, অন্তরে আছে কৃত্তিবাসী বাঙালি কল্পনার সাহায্যে মিল্‌টন-হোমর-প্রতিভার অতিথি-সৎকার। এই আতিথ্যে অগৌরব নেই, এতে নিজের ঐশ্বর্যের প্রমাণ হয় এবং তার বৃদ্ধি হোতে থাকে।

এই যেমন কাব্য-সাহিত্যে মধুসূদন, তেমনি আধুনিক বাংলা গদ্য-সাহিত্যের পথ-মুক্তির আদিতে আছেন বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সর্বপ্রথম ছাত্রদের মধ্যে তিনি ছিলেন একজন বরণীয় ব্যক্তি। বলা বাহুল্য, তাঁর চিত্ত অনুপ্রাণিত হয়েছিল প্রধানভাবে ইংরেজি শিক্ষায়। ইংরেজি কথা-সাহিত্য থেকে তিনি যে প্ররোচনা পেয়েছিলেন তাকে প্রথমেই ইংরেজি ভাষায় রূপ দিতে চেষ্টা করেছেন। সেই চেষ্টার অকৃতার্থতা বুঝতে তাঁর বিলম্ব হয়নি। কিন্তু যেহেতু বিদেশী শিক্ষা থেকে তিনি যথার্থ সংস্কৃতি লাভ করেছিলেন তাই সেই সংস্কৃতিই তাঁকে আপন সার্থকতার সন্ধানে স্বদেশী ভাষায় টেনে এনেছিল। যেমন দূর গিরিশিখরের জলপ্রপাত যখন শৈলবক্ষ ছেড়ে প্রবাহিত হয় জনস্থানের মধ্য দিয়ে, তখন দুই তীরবর্তী ক্ষেত্রগুলিকে ফলবান্ ক'রে তোলে তাদের নিজেরই ভূমি-উদ্ভিন্ন ফলশস্যে, তেমনি নূতন শিক্ষাকে বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র ফলবান্ ক'রে তুলেছেন নিজেরই ভাষাপ্রকৃতির স্বকীয় দানের দ্বারা। তার আগে বাংলাভাষায় গদ্য-প্রবন্ধ ছিল ইস্কুলে পোড়োদের উপদেশের বাহন। বঙ্কিমের আগে বাঙালি শিক্ষিত-সমাজ নিশ্চিত স্থির করেছিলেন যে তাঁদের ভাব-রস-ভোগের ও সত্য-সন্ধানের উপকরণ একান্তভাবে য়ুরোপীয় সাহিত্য হতেই সংগ্রহ করা সম্ভব, কেবল অল্পশিক্ষিতদের ধাত্রীবৃত্তি করবার জন্যেই দরিদ্র বাংলাভাষার যোগ্যতা। কিন্তু বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র

ইংরেজি শিক্ষার পরিণত শক্তিকেই রূপ দিতে প্রবৃত্ত হলেন বাংলাভাষায় বঙ্গদর্শন মাসিকপত্রে। বস্তুত নবযুগপ্রবর্তক প্রতিভাবানের সাধনায় ভারতবর্ষে সর্বপ্রথমে বাংলাদেশেই য়ুরোপীয় সংস্কৃতির ফসল ভাবী কালের প্রত্যাশা নিয়ে দেখা দিয়েছিল, বিদেশ থেকে আনীত পণ্য-আকারে নয়, স্বদেশের ভূমিতে উৎপন্ন শস্যসম্পদের মতো। সেই শস্যের বীজ যদিবা বিদেশ থেকে উড়ে এসে আমাদের ক্ষেত্রে পড়ে থাকে তবু তার অঙ্কুরিত প্রাণ এখানকার মাটিরই। মাটি যাকে গ্রহণ করতে পারে সে ফসল বিদেশী হোলেও আর বিদেশী থাকে না। আমাদের দেশের বহু ফলেফুলে তার পরিচয় আছে।

ইংরেজি শিক্ষার সার্থকতা আমাদের সাহিত্যে বঙ্গীয় দেহ নিয়ে বিচরণ করছে বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে, এই প্রদেশের শিক্ষানিকেতনেও সে তেমনি আমাদের অন্তরঙ্গ হয়ে দেখা দেবে এ জন্য অনেক দিন আমাদের মাতৃভূমি অপেক্ষা করেছে।

বাংলার বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় আপন স্বাভাবিক ভাষায় স্বদেশে সর্বজনের আত্মীয়তা লাভে গৌরবান্বিত হবে সেই আশার সঙ্কেত আজকের দিনের অনুষ্ঠানের মধ্য দিয়ে প্রকাশ করার সুযোগ আমি পেয়েছি, তাই সমস্ত বাংলাদেশের গর্ব ও আনন্দ বহন ক'রে এই সভায় আজ আমার উপস্থিতি।

নতুবা এখানে স্থান পাবার মতো প্রবেশিকার মূল্য দেওয়া আমার দ্বারা সাধ্য হয়নি। আমার জীবনে প্রথম বয়সে স্বল্পক্ষণস্থায়ী ছাত্রদশা কেটেছে অভ্রভেদী শিক্ষাসৌধের অধস্তন তলায়। তারপরে কিশোর বয়সে অভিভাবকদের নির্দেশমতো এক দিন সসঙ্কোচে আমি প্রবেশ করেছিলুম বহিরঙ্গ ছাত্ররূপে

প্রেসিডেন্সি কলেজের প্রথম-বার্ষিক শ্রেণীতে। সেই এক দিন আর দ্বিতীয় দিনে পৌঁছল না। আকারে প্রকারে সমস্ত ক্লাসের সঙ্গে আমার এমন কিছু ছন্দের ব্যত্যয় ছিল যাতে আমাকে দেখবামাত্র পরিহাস উঠল উচ্ছ্বসিত হয়ে। বুঝলুম, মণ্ডলীর বাহির থেকে অসামঞ্জস্য নিয়ে এসেছি। পরের দিন থেকেই অনধিকার প্রবেশের দুঃসাহসিকতা থেকে বিরত হয়েছিলেম, এবং আর যে কোনো দিন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের চৌকাঠ পার হয়ে অধিকারীবর্গের একপাশে স্থান পাব এমন দুরাশা আমার মনে ছিল না। অবশেষে একদিন মাতৃভাষার সাধনা-পুণ্যেই আজ সেই দুর্লভ অধিকার আমার মিলবে সেদিন তা স্বপ্নের অতীত ছিল।

বর্তমান যুগ য়ুরোপীয় সভ্যতা কর্তৃক সম্পূর্ণ অধিকৃত এ কথা মানতেই হবে। এই যুগ একটি বিশেষ উদ্যমশীল চিত্তপ্রকৃতির ভূমিকা সমস্ত জগতে প্রবর্তিত করছে। মানুষের বুদ্ধিগত জ্ঞানগত বিচিত্র চিন্তা ও কর্ম নব নব আকার নিচ্চে এই ভূমিকার পরেই। বুদ্ধি-পরিশীলনার বিশেষ গতি ও বিস্তৃতি সভ্য পৃথিবী জুড়ে সমস্ত মানুষের মধ্যেই একটা ঐক্য-লাভে প্রবৃত্ত হয়েছে। বিজ্ঞান, সাহিত্য, ইতিহাস, অর্থনীতি, রাষ্ট্রনীতি প্রভৃতি সকল বিষয়ই এবং চিন্তা করবার পদ্ধতি, সন্ধান করবার প্রণালী, সত্য যাচাই করবার আদর্শ, য়ুরোপীয় চিত্তের ভূমিকার উপরে উদ্ভাবিত ও আলোচিত হচ্চে। এটা সম্ভবপর হোতই না, যদি এর উপযোগিতা সর্বত্র নিয়ত পরীক্ষার দ্বারা স্বীকৃত না হোত, যদি-না এই চিত্ত জয়যুক্ত হোত তার সর্বপ্রকার অধ্যবসায়ে। সংসারযাত্রার কৃতার্থতা-লাভের জন্য আজ পৃথিবীতে সকল নবজাগ্রত দেশই য়ুরোপের এই চিত্তস্রোতকে জনসাধারণের মধ্যে প্রবাহিত

ক'রে দেবার চেষ্টায় অবিরাম প্রবৃত্ত। সর্বত্রই বিদ্যালয় ও বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়গুলি প্রজাদের মনঃক্ষেত্রে ব্যাপকভাবে নববিদ্যা-সেচনের প্রণালী। এমন দেশও প্রত্যক্ষ দেখেছি নবযুগের প্রভাবে যে আজ বহু দীর্ঘ শতাব্দীর উপেক্ষাসঞ্চিত স্তূপাকার নিরক্ষরতার বাধা অল্পকালের মধ্যে আশ্চর্য শক্তিতে উত্তীর্ণ হয়েছে, সেখানে যে জন-মন একদা ছিল অখ্যাত আকারে আত্মপ্রকাশহীন অকৃতিত্বে লুপ্তপ্রায়, সে আজ অবারিত শক্তি নিয়ে মানবসমাজের পুরোভাগে সসম্মানে অগ্রসর। এ দিকে যথোচিত অর্থ-অভাবে শ্রদ্ধা-অভাবে উৎসাহ-অভাবে দীনসম্বল আমাদের দেশের বিদ্যানিকেতনগুলি স্বল্পপরিমিত ছাত্রদেরকে স্বল্পমাত্র বিদ্যায় পরীক্ষা পার করবার স্বল্পায়তন খেয়ানৌকোর কাজ ক'রে চলেছে। দেশের আত্মচেতনাহারা বিরাট্ মনকে স্পর্শ করছে তার প্রান্ততম সীমায়, সে স্পর্শও ক্ষীণ, যে হেতু তা প্রাণবান্ নয়, যে হেতু সে স্পর্শ আসছে বহিঃস্থিত আবরণের বাধার ভিতর দিয়ে। এই কারণে প্রাচ্য-মহাদেশের যে-যে অংশে নব দিনের উদ্বোধন দেখা দিয়েছে, জ্ঞানজ্যোতির্বিকীর্ণ আত্মপরিচয়ের সম্মান-লাভে তাদের সকলের থেকে বহুদূর পশ্চাতে আছে ভারতবর্ষ।

আমার এবং বাংলাদেশের লেখকবর্গের হয়ে আমি এ কথা বলব যে আমরা নবযুগের সংস্কৃতিকে দেশের মর্মস্থানে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করবার কাজ করে আসছি। বর্তমান যুগের নূতন বিদ্যাকে দেশের প্রাণনিকেতনে চিরন্তন করবার এই স্বতঃসক্রিয় উদ্যোগকে অনেকদিন পর্যন্ত আমাদের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় আপন আমন্ত্রণ-ক্ষেত্র থেকে পৃথক্ ক'রে রেখেছেন, তাকে ভিন্ন জাতীয় ব'লে গণ্য করেছেন। আশুতোষ সর্বপ্রথমে এই বিচ্ছেদের

মধ্যে সেতু বেঁধেছিলেন যখন তিনি আমার মতো বাংলাভাষাচর লেখককে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ডাক্তার উপাধি দিতে সাহস করলেন। সে দিন যথেষ্ট সাহসের প্রয়োজন ছিল। কারণ ইংরেজি ভাষা-সম্পর্কে কৃত্রিম কৌলিন্যগর্ব আদিকাল থেকেই এই বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের অন্তরে অন্তরে সংস্কারগত হয়ে গিয়েছিল। কিন্তু আশুতোষ বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পরভাষাশ্রিত আভিজাত্য-বোধকে অকস্মাৎ আঘাত করতে কুণ্ঠিত হলেন না, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের তুঙ্গমঞ্চ চূড়া থেকে তিনিই প্রথম নমস্কার প্রেরণ করলেন তাঁর মাতৃভাষার দিকে। তারপরে তিনিই বাংলা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে বাংলাভাষার ধারাকে অবতারণ করলেন, সাবধানে তার স্রোতঃপথ খনন করে দিলেন। পিতৃনির্দিষ্ট সেই পথকে আজ প্রশস্ত ক'রে দিচ্ছেন তাঁরি সুযোগ্যপুত্র বাংলাদেশের আশীর্ভাজন শ্রীযুক্ত শ্যামাপ্রসাদ। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের দীক্ষামন্ত্র থেকে বঞ্চিত আমার মতো ব্রাত্য-বাংলা লেখককে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উপাধি দিয়ে আশুতোষ প্রথম রীতি লঙ্ঘন করেছেন, আজ তাঁরই পুত্র সেই ব্রাত্যকেই আজকের দিনের অনুষ্ঠানে বাংলাভাষায় অভিভাষণ পাঠ করতে নিমন্ত্রণ ক'রে পুনশ্চ সেই রীতিরই দুটো গ্রন্থি এক সঙ্গে মুক্ত করেছেন। এতে বোঝা গেল বাংলাদেশে শিক্ষাজগতে ঋতু-পরিবর্তন হয়েছে, পাশ্চাত্ত্য আবহাওয়ার শীতে-আড়ষ্ট শাখায় আজ এল নব পল্লবের উৎসব।

অন্যত্র ভারতবর্ষে সম্প্রতি এমন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় দেখা দিয়েছে, যেখানে স্থানীয় প্রজাসাধারণের ভাষা না হোক্ পরন্তু শ্রেণী-বিশেষের ব্যবহৃত ভাষা শিক্ষার বাহনরূপে আদ্যোপান্ত গণ্য হয়েছে; এবং সেখানকার প্রধানবর্গ এই দুঃসাধ্য

চেষ্টাকে আশ্চর্য সফলতা দিয়ে প্রশংসাভাজন হয়েছেন। এই অচিন্তিতপূর্ব সঙ্কল্প এবং আশাতীত সিদ্ধিও কম গৌরবের বিষয় নয়। কিন্তু কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যে সাধনায় প্রবৃত্ত হয়েছেন সমস্ত প্রদেশের প্রজাসাধারণ তার লক্ষ্য। বাংলাভাষার অধিকৃত এই প্রদেশের কোনো কোনো অঙ্গ যদিও শাসনকর্তাদের কাটারি-দ্বারা কৃত্রিম বিভাগে বিক্ষত হয়ে বহিষ্কৃত হয়েছে, তবু অন্তত ৫ কোটি লোকের মাতৃভাষাকে এই শিক্ষার কেন্দ্র আপন ভাষারূপে স্বীকার করবার ইচ্ছা ঘোষণা করেছেন। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় স্বদেশের প্রতি এই যে সম্মান নিবেদন করলেন এর দ্বারা তিনি আজ সম্মাননীয়। যে শৌর্যবান্ পুরুষ স্বদেশের এই সৌভাগ্যের সূচনা ক'রে গেছেন আজকের দিনে সেই আশুতোষের প্রতিও আমাদের সম্মান নিবেদন করি।

আমি জানি য়ুরোপীয় শিক্ষা ও সভ্যতার মহত্ত্ব-সম্বন্ধে সুতীব্র প্রতিবাদ জাগবার দিন আজ এসেছে। এই সভ্যতা বস্তুগত ধনসঞ্চয়ে ও শক্তি-আবিষ্কারে অদ্ভুত দ্রুতগতিতে অগ্রসর হচ্চে। কিন্তু সমগ্র মনুষ্যত্বের মহিমা তো তার বাহ্য রূপ এবং বাহ্য উপকরণ নিয়ে নয়। হিংস্রতা, লুব্ধতা, রাষ্ট্রিক কূটনীতির কুটিলতা পাশ্চাত্ত্য মহাদেশ থেকে যে রকম প্রচণ্ড মূর্তি ধ'রে মানুষের স্বাধিকারকে নির্মমভাবে দলন করতে উদ্যত হয়েছে, ইতিহাসে এমন আর কোনো দিন হয়নি। মানুষের দুরাকাঙ্ক্ষাকে এমন বৃহৎ আয়তনে, এমন প্রভূত পরিমাণে, এমন সর্ববাধাজয়ী নৈপুণ্যের সঙ্গে জয়যুক্ত করতে কোনো দিন মানুষ সক্ষম হয়নি। আজ তা হোতে পেরেছে বিশ্বপরাভবকারী বিজ্ঞানের জোরে। উনিশ শতকের আরম্ভে ও

মাঝামাঝিকালে যখন য়ুরোপীয় সভ্যতার সঙ্গে আমাদের প্রথম পরিচয় হয়েছিল তখন ভক্তির সঙ্গে আনন্দের সঙ্গে আমাদের মনে প্রবল ধারণা জন্মেছিল যে, এই সভ্যতা সর্বমানবের প্রতি অকৃত্রিম শ্রদ্ধা নিয়ে জগতে আবির্ভূত; নিশ্চিত স্থির করেছিলুম যে, সত্যনিষ্ঠা, ন্যায়পরতা ও মানুষের সম্বন্ধে সুগভীর শ্রেয়োবুদ্ধি এর চরিত্রগত লক্ষণ; ভেবেছিলুম মানুষকে অন্তরে বাহিরে সর্বপ্রকার বন্ধন থেকে মুক্তি দেবার ব্রত এই সভ্যতা গ্রহণ করেছে। দেখতে দেখতে আমাদের জীবিত কালের মধ্যেই তার ন্যায়বুদ্ধি তার মানবমৈত্রী এমনি ক্ষুণ্ণ হোলো, ক্ষীণ হোলো, যে, বলদর্পিতের পেষণযন্ত্রে পীড়িত মানুষ এই সভ্যতার বিচারসভায় ধর্মের দোহাই দেবে এমন ভরসা আজ কোথাও রইল না। পাশ্চাত্ত্য ভূখণ্ডে যে সকল বিশ্ববিশ্রুত দেশ এই সভ্যতার প্রধান বাহন, তারা পরস্পরকে ছিন্নবিচ্ছিন্ন করবার উদ্দেশ্যে পাশব নখদন্তের অদ্ভুত উৎকর্ষসাধনে সমস্ত বুদ্ধি ও ঐশ্বর্যকে নিযুক্ত করেছে। মানুষের প্রতি মানুষের এমন অপরিসীম ভীতি, এমন দৃঢ়বদ্ধমূল অবিশ্বাস অন্য কোনো যুগেই দেখা যায়নি। মানবজগতের যে ঊর্ধ্বলোক থেকে আলোক আসে, মুক্তির মন্ত্র যেখানকার বাতাসে সঞ্চারিত হয়, মানবচিত্তের সেই দ্যুলোক রিপুপদদলিত পৃথিবীর উৎক্ষিপ্ত ধূলিতে আবিল, সাংঘাতিক মারীবীজে নিবিড়ভাবে পরিপূর্ণ। ইতিপূর্বে পৃথিবীতে আমরা যে সকল মহামহা সভ্যতার পরিচয় পেয়েছি তাদের প্রধান সাধনা ছিল মানবজগতের ঊর্ধ্বলোককে নির্মল রাখা, সেখানে পুণ্যজ্যোতির বিকিরণকে অবরোধমুক্ত করা। ধর্মের শাশ্বত নীতির প্রতি বিশ্বাসহীন আজকের দিনে এই সাধনা অশ্রদ্ধাভাজন; সমস্ত পৃথিবীকে

নিষ্ঠুর শক্তিতে অভিভূত করবার স্বাভাবিক দায়িত্ব নিয়ে এসেছে ব'লে যারা গর্ব করে এই সাধনা তাদের মতো শাসক ও শোষক জাতির পক্ষে অনুপযুক্ত ব'লে গণ্য। উগ্র লোভের তীব্র মাদকরস-পানে উন্মত্ত সভ্যতার পদভারে কম্পান্বিত সমস্ত পাশ্চাত্য মহাদেশ। যে শিক্ষায় কর্মবুদ্ধির সঙ্গে শুভবুদ্ধির এমন বিচ্ছেদ, যে সভ্যতা অসংযত মোহাবেশে আত্মহননোদ্যত তার গৌরব ঘোষণা করব কোন্ মুখে!

কিন্তু একদিন মনুষ্যত্বের প্রতি সম্মান দেখেছি এই পাশ্চাত্যের সাহিত্যে ও ইতিহাসে। তার নিজেকে নিজেই সে আজ ব্যঙ্গ করলেও তার চিত্তের সেই উদার অভ্যুদয়কে মরীচিকা ব'লে অস্বীকার করতে পারিনে। তার উজ্জ্বল সত্তাই মিথ্যা এবং তার ম্লান বিকৃতিই সত্য একথা বলব না।

সভ্যতার পদস্খলন ও আত্মখণ্ডন ঘটেছে বারবার, নিজের শ্রেষ্ঠ দানকে সে বারবার নিজে প্রত্যাখ্যান করেছে। এই দুর্ঘটনা দেখেছি আমাদের স্বদেশেও এবং অন্যদেশেও। দেখা গেছে মানবমহিমার শোচনীয় পতন ইতিহাসের পর্বে পর্বে। কিন্তু এই সকল সভ্যতা যেখানে মহামূল্য সত্যকে কোনো দিন কোনো আকারে প্রকাশ করেছে সেইখান থেকেই সে চিরদিনের মতো জয় করেছে মানুষের মনকে; জয় করেছে আপন বাহ্য প্রতাপের ধূলিশায়ী ভগ্নস্তূপের উপরে দাঁড়িয়েও। য়ুরোপ মহৎ শিক্ষার উপাদান উপহার দিয়েছে মানুষকে, দেবার শক্তি যদি না থাকত তাহোলে কোনো কালেই তার বিশ্বজয়ের যুগ আসত না এ কথা বলা বাহুল্য। সে দিয়েছে আপন অদম্য শৌর্যের, অসঙ্কুচিত

আত্মত্যাগের দৃষ্টান্ত,—দেখিয়েছে প্রাণান্তকর প্রয়াস জ্ঞান-বিতরণের কাজে, আরোগ্য-সাধনের উদ্যোগে। আজও এই সাঙ্ঘাতিক অধঃপতনের দিনে য়ুরোপের শ্রেষ্ঠ যাঁরা, নিঃসন্দেহই ন্যায়ের পক্ষে দুর্বলের পক্ষে দুঃশাসনের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ জাগিয়ে তাঁরা বলদৃপ্তের শাস্তিকে স্বীকার করছেন, দুঃখীর দুঃখকে আপন ক'রে নিচ্ছেন। বারেবারে অকৃতার্থ হোলেও তাঁরাই আশু পরাভবের মধ্য দিয়েও এই সভ্যতার প্রতিভূ। যে প্রেরণায় চারিদিকের কঠোর অত্যাচার ও চরিত্র-বিকৃতির মধ্যে তাঁদের লক্ষ্যকে অবিচলিত রেখেছে সে প্রেরণাই এই সভ্যতার মর্মগত সত্য, তার থেকেই পৃথিবী শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করবে, পাশ্চাত্ত্য জাতির লজ্জাজনক অমানুষিক আত্মাবমাননা থেকে নয়।

তোমরা যে সকল তরুণ ছাত্র আজ এই সভায় উপস্থিত, যারা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সিংহদ্বার দিয়ে জীবনের জয়যাত্রার পথে অগ্রসর হোতে প্রস্তুত, তোমাদের প্রতি আমার অভিনন্দন জানাই। তোমরাই এই বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের নূতন গৌরব-দিনের প্রভূত সফলতার প্রত্যাশা আগামী কালের পথে বহন করতে যাত্রা করছ।

আজ প্রচণ্ড আলোড়ন উঠেছে পৃথিবীব্যাপী জনসমুদ্রে। যেন সমস্ত সভ্য জগতকে এক কল্প থেকে আর এক কল্পের তটে উৎক্ষিপ্ত করবার জন্যে দেবদৈত্যে মিলে মন্থন সুরু হয়েছে। এবারকারও মন্থনরজ্জু বিষধর সর্প, বহুফণাধারী লোভের সর্প। সে বিষ উদ্গার করছে। আপনার মধ্যে সমস্ত বিষটাকে জীর্ণ ক'রে নেবেন এমন মৃত্যুঞ্জয় শিব পাশ্চাত্ত্য সভ্যতার মর্মস্থানে আসীন আছেন কিনা এখনো তার প্রমাণ

পাইনি। ভারতবর্ষে আমরা আছি কালের রুদ্রলীলাসমুদ্রের তটসীমায়। বর্তমান মানবসমাজের এই দুঃখের আন্দোলনে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে যোগ দেবার উপলক্ষ আমাদের ঘটেনি। কিন্তু ঘূর্ণির টান বাহির থেকে আসছে আমাদের উপরে, এবং ভিতরের থেকেও দুর্গতির ঢেউ আছাড় খেয়ে পড়ছে আমাদের দক্ষিণে বামে। সমস্যার পর দুঃসাধ্য সমস্যা এসে অভিভূত করছে দেশকে। সম্প্রদায়ে সম্প্রদায়ে পরস্পর বিচ্ছেদ ও বিরোধ নানা কদর্য মূর্তিতে প্রকাশিত হয়ে উঠল। বিকৃতি আনলে আমাদের আত্মকল্যাণ-বোধে। এই সমস্যার সমাধান সহজে হবার নয়, সমাধান না হোলেও নিরবচ্ছিন্ন দুর্গতি।

সমস্ত দেশের সংস্কৃতি সৌভ্রাত্র্য সচ্ছলতা একদা বিকীর্ণ ছিল আমাদের গ্রামে। আজ সেখানে প্রবেশ করলে দেখতে পাবে মরণদশা তার বুকে খরনখর বিদ্ধ করেছে একটা রক্তশোষী শ্বাপদের মতো। অনশন ও দুঃখ-দারিদ্র্যের সহচর মজ্জাগত মারী সমস্ত জাতির জীবনী শক্তিকে জীর্ণজর্জর ক'রে দিয়েছে। এর প্রতিকার কোথায় সে কথা ভাবতে হবে আমাদের নিজেকে, অশিক্ষিত কল্পনার দ্বারা নয়, ভাব-বিহ্বল দৃষ্টির বাষ্পাকুলতা দিয়ে নয়। এই পণ ক'রে চলতে হবে, যে, পরাস্ত যদি হোতেও হয় তবে সে যেন প্রতিকূল অবস্থার কাছে ভীরুর মতো হাল ছেড়ে দিয়ে নয়, যেন নির্বোধের মতো নির্বিচারে আত্মহত্যার মাঝ-দরিয়ায় ঝাঁপ দিয়ে পড়াকেই গর্বের বিষয় না মনে করি।

ভাবপ্রবণতা আছে আমাদের দেশে অতিপরিমাণে। কর্মোদ্যোগে নিজেকে অপ্রমত্তভাবে প্রবৃত্ত করতে আমাদের

মন যায় না; অবাস্তবের মোহাবেশ কাটিয়ে পুরুষের মতো উজ্জ্বল বুদ্ধির আলোকে দেশের সমস্ত অসম্পূর্ণতা মূঢ়তা কদর্যতা সব-কিছুকে অত্যুক্তি-বর্জিত ক'রে জেনে দৃঢ় সঙ্কল্পের সঙ্গে দেশের দায়িত্ব গ্রহণ করো। যেখানে বাস্তবের ক্ষেত্রে ভাগ্য আমাদের প্রতিদিন বঞ্চিত করে, অবমানিত করে, সেখানে ঘর-গড়া অহঙ্কারে নিজেকে ভোলাবার চেষ্টা দুর্বল চিত্তের দুর্লক্ষণ। সত্যকার কাজ আরম্ভ করার মুখে এ কথা মানাই চাই যে আমাদের সমাজে আমাদের স্বভাবে আমাদের অভ্যাসে আমাদের বুদ্ধিবিকারে গভীরভাবে নিহিত হয়ে আছে আমাদের সর্বনাশ। যখনি আমাদের দুর্গতির সকল দায়িত্ব একমাত্র বাহিরের অবস্থার অথবা অপর কোনো পক্ষের প্রতিকূলতার উপর আরোপ ক'রে বধির শূন্যের অভিমুখে তারস্বরে অভিযোগ ঘোষণা করি তখনি হতাশ্বাস ধৃতরাষ্ট্রের মতো মন ব'লে ওঠে—"তদা নাশংসে বিজয়ায় সঞ্জয়।"

আজ আমাদের অভিযান নিজের অন্তর্নিহিত আত্মশত্রুতার বিরুদ্ধে, প্রাণপণ আঘাত হানতে হবে বহুশতাব্দীনির্মিত মূঢ়তার দুর্গভিত্তিমূলে। আগে নিজের শক্তিকে তামসিকতার জড়িমা থেকে উদ্ধার ক'রে নিয়ে তারপরে পরের শক্তির সঙ্গে আমাদের সম্মানিত সন্ধি হোতে পারবে। নইলে আমাদের সন্ধি হবে ঋণের জালে ভিক্ষুকতার জালে আষ্টেপৃষ্ঠে আড়ষ্টকর পাকে জড়িত। নিজের শ্রেষ্ঠতার দ্বারাই অন্যের শ্রেষ্ঠতাকে আমরা জাগাতে পারি, তাতেই মঙ্গল আমাদের ও অন্যের। দুর্বলের প্রার্থনা যে কুণ্ঠাগ্রস্ত দান সঞ্চয় করে সে দান শতছিদ্র ঘটের জল, যে আশ্রয় পায় চোরাবালিতে সে আশ্রয়ের ভিত্তি।

হে বিধাতা,
দাও দাও মোদের গৌরব দাও
দুঃসাধ্যের নিমন্ত্রণে
দুঃসহ দুঃখের গর্বে।
টেনে তোলো রসাক্ত ভাবের মোহ হতে
সবলে ধিক্কৃত করো দীনতার ধূলায় লুণ্ঠন।
দূর করো চিত্তের দাসত্ব বন্ধ,
ভাগ্যের নিয়ত অক্ষমতা,
দূর করো মূঢ়তায় অযোগ্যের পদে
মানবমর্যাদা-বিসর্জন,
চূর্ণ করো যুগে যুগে স্তূপীকৃত লজ্জারাশি
নিষ্ঠুর আঘাতে।

নিঃসঙ্কোচে
মস্তক তুলিতে দাও
অনন্ত আকাশে
উদাত্ত আলোকে,
মুক্তির বাতাসে॥